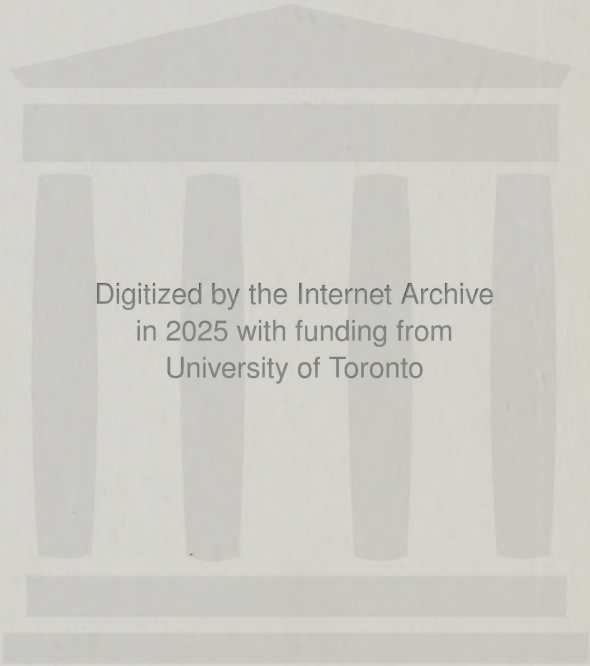
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EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

BEING ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA DURING ITS SESSION OF 1908-1909

EDITED BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS, F.S.S.

SIXTH YEAR OF ISSUE

ILLUSTRATED

TORONTO

WILLIAM BRIGGS

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THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA.

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PRINCIPLES OF THE CLUB.

The object of the Club is the advancement of the interests of Canada and a United Empire.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The organization shall be called The Empire Club of Canada.

2. Membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen years who is a British subject.

3. Honourary members may be elected from time to time upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee at any open meeting of the Club.

4. Candidates for membership shall be proposed and seconded by two members of the Club in good standing, and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at any meeting of the Executive Committee.

5. The fee for admission shall be the sum of One Dollar, payable annually in advance. No member in arrears for fees or dues shall be considered to be in good standing, or shall be eligible for office, or have the right to attend at any meeting of the Club. Honourary members shall be exempt from the payment of fees, but will not have the privilege of voting or holding office.

6. The officers of the Club shall consist of an Honourary President ; a President ; 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Vice-Presidents ; a Treasurer; a Secretary, and ten other members who together shall constitute, with the officers before mentioned, the Executive Committee, all of whom shall be elected by ballot. Two auditors shall also be elected at each annual meeting.

7. The Club shall hold general meetings weekly from October to May, both inclusive, in each twelve months, with such intermission as from time to time may be decided upon. Nominations for office shall be made at the second general meeting of the Club in October of each year, and the elections shall take place at the next succeeding meeting, and this latter meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by a report of the Treasurer duly audited.

8. In the event of any office becoming vacant by death, resignation or otherwise, the vacancy thus caused shall be filled by the Executive Committee, and the person so selected shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

9. The duties of the officers shall be those customary to such positions in similar organizations.

10. One week's written notice shall be given of all annual or special meetings to the members of the Club.

11. Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President, or on a requisition signed by three of its members. Special meetings of the Club may be called by the President, and shall be called on a requisition signed by twelve members, and stating the object of the meeting. This object to be also stated in the notice calling the meeting.

12. The President's and Treasurer's Annual Reports, together with the list of members and the Constitution of the Club, shall be published in pamphlet form immediately after the annual meeting in each year.

13. This Constitution may be amended at the annual meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose, subject to a two-thirds majority vote of the members present.

14. Fifteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Club, General, Annual or Special ; six members shall form a quorum of the Executive Committee, and the presiding officer shall have a casting vote.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

CLAUSE II.

"The active membership of the Club shall be limited to five hunderd, and membership shall be open to any man of the full age of eighteen who is a British subject."

CLAUSE VI.

"That the election of officers of the Club shall take place at a general meeting of the members, to be held in the month of May in each year, at a date to be decided upon by the Executive Committee, and this meeting shall be deemed to be the annual meeting. A committee to nominate the officers for the new year shall be appointed at the meeting next preceding such annual meeting, and such committee shall report to the annual meeting. That Past Presidents of the Club shall be *ex-officio* members of the Executive Committee."

THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1903–4.

President - - - -	Lieut.-Colonel James Mason.
1st Vice-President - -	Prof. William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.
2nd Vice-President - -	Mr. Hugh Blain.
3rd Vice-President - -	Mr. James P. Murray.
Hon. Secretary - - -	Mr. J. F. M. Stewart.
Hon. Treasurer - - -	Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O.
Literary Secretary - -	Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.
Editor of Annual Volume -	Prof. William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

Committee.

Frank Darling,	F. B. Fetherstonhaugh,	Alex. Fraser,
Capt. E. Wyly Grier, R.C.A.,	W. E. Lincoln Hunter,	Wallace Jones,
Robert Junkin,	Noel Marshall,	H. C. Osborne,
	F. B. Polson.	

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1904–5.

President - - - -	Lieut.-Colonel James Mason.
1st Vice-President - -	Prof. William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.
2nd Vice-President - -	Mr. Hugh Blain.
3rd Vice-President - -	Mr. James P. Murray.
Hon. Secretary - - -	Mr. J. F. M. Stewart.
Hon. Treasurer - -	Major J. Cooper Mason, D.S.O.
Literary Sec'y and Editor -	Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.

Committee.

F. B. Fetherstonhaugh,	Frank Darling,	Alex. Fraser,
Major E. Wyly Grier,	W. E. Lincoln Hunter,	Wallace Jones,
Robert Junkin,	Noel Marshall,	H. C. Osborne,
	F. B. Polson.	

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1905–6.

President - - - - Prof. William Clark, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D.
1st Vice-President - - Mr. James P. Murray.
2nd Vice-President - - Mr. Robert Junkin.
3rd Vice-President - - Mr. J. F. M. Stewart.
Hon. Secretary - - - - Mr. W. J. Green.
Hon. Treasurer - - - - Mr. L. A. Winter.
Literary Sec'y and Editor - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.

Committee.

Alex. Fraser, Major J. Cooper Mason, J. M. Clark, K.C.,
S. Alfred Jones, F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, Major E. Wyly Grier,
J. Castell Hopkins, H. C. Osborne, W. H. Orr,
Dr. E. Clouse.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1906–7.

President - - - - Mr. James P. Murray.
1st Vice-President - - Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
2nd Vice-President - - Mr. J. M. Clark, K.C.
3rd Vice-President - - Mr. H. C. Osborne.
Hon. Secretary - - - } Mr. E. V. Portway.
Hon. Treasurer - - - }
Literary Secretary - - }
Editor of Annual Volume - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.

Committee.

Alexander Fraser, H. S. Pell, E. Clouse, M.D.,
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh, J. Castell Hopkins, G. H. Muntz,
D. J. Goggin, D.C.L., E. K. Richardson, M.D., J. R. Roaf,
W. J. Green, Major J. Cooper Mason,
Lieut.-Colonel James Mason, Prof. William Clark.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1907–8.

President - - - - - Mr. J. F. M. Stewart, B.A.
1st Vice-President - - - Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., LL.D.
2nd Vice-President - - - Mr. Elias Clouse, M.D.
3rd Vice-President - - - Mr. James R. Roaf.
Hon. Secretary - - - -
Hon. Treasurer - - - - } Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., LL.D.
Literary Secretary - - -
Editor of Annual Volume - - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.

Committee.

E. M. Chadwick, K.C.
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh,
Rev. Dr. T. C. S. Macklem,
Dr. W. H. Pepler,
W. A. Sherwood, A.R.C.A.,
Prof. William Clark,
J. M. Clark, K.C.,
J. Castell Hopkins,
G. Harold Muntz,
Dr. E. K. Richardson,
Lieut.-Col. J. Mason,
James P. Murray.

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

1908–9.

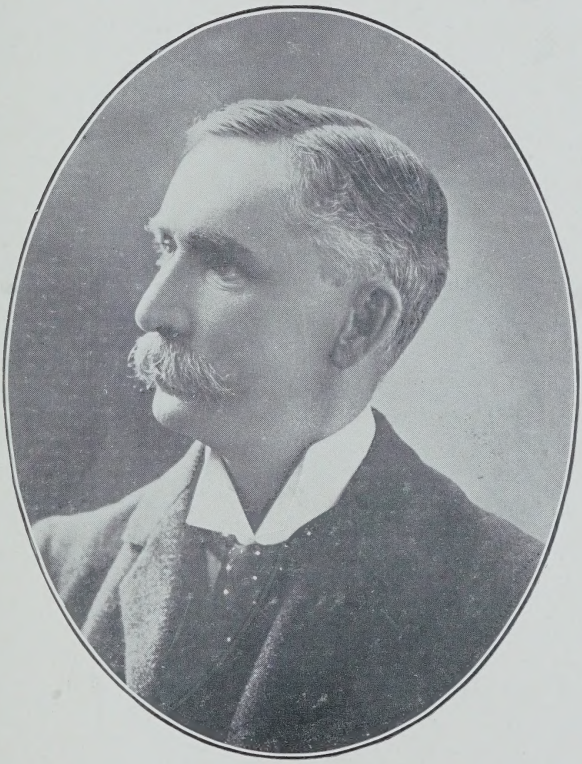
President - - - - Mr. D. J. Goggin, M.A., LL.D.
1st Vice-President - - Dr. Elias Clouse.
2nd Vice-President - - Mr. James R. Roaf.
3rd Vice-President - - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.
Hon. Secretary - - -
Hon. Treasurer - - - } Mr. J. F. M. Stewart.
Literary Secretary - -
Editor of Annual Volume - Mr. J. Castell Hopkins.

Committee.

J. M. Clark, K.C.,
Dr. W. H. Pepler,
Prof. G. Oswald Smith,
R. S. Neville, K.C.,
F. B. Fetherstonhaugh,
Dr. E. K. Richardson,
J. M. Foster,
Lieut.-Col. J. Mason,
James P. Murray.
G. Harold Muntz,
W. A. Sherwood,
D. J. McDougald,
Prof. William Clark,

Hon. President, 1893-1909:
LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL, G.C.M.G.

Hon. Member, 1894-1909:
RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.



MR. D. J. GOGGIN, M.A., D.C.L.
President of the Empire Club of Canada, 1908-9.

MR. HOWARD D'EGVILLE.

Hon. Secretary Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, of London, England.

EMPIRE CLUB SPEECHES

IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

An address by MR. HOWARD d'EGVILLE, Hon. Secretary Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee of London, England before the Empire Club of Canada, September 25th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:

I consider it, gentlemen, a great honour and privilege to be permitted to come here to-day to offer a few remarks upon some aspects of a great question, and in doing so I wish it to be clearly understood that I come forward in no dogmatic spirit, but merely to place before you some broad aspects of our Imperial position, in order to promote that consideration and that discussion which can alone tend to the solution of the problems of our Empire. Indeed, my main purpose in coming to the Dominion was to investigate the views of prominent Canadians upon questions of closer co-operation, although I have accepted, somewhat naturally, the opportunity of addressing meetings which has been so generously afforded me, in order to bring myself in closer contact with a greater number of the people who think along the lines upon which some of us are thinking at home, and the lines upon which I am desirous of gathering information.

In approaching the question of closer union of the Empire one's vision is apt to be obscured by certain minor issues, but the real issues, and the only issues which are worth considering, are plain and straightforward issues; and their solution must, and will, involve nothing more nor less than the future of our Empire and our race. Any student of the present position must be struck with the extremely anomalous position of the present state of affairs. You have one country—the

United Kingdom—directing, practically alone, the foreign relations of the whole Empire; relations the conduct of which may involve the whole Empire in war. On the other hand, you have the other countries of the Empire having no joint partnership in that defence, the maintenance of which, especially the Navy, is the sole guarantee of the existence of the Empire. The present position is easily explainable—first, on account of the wide, geographical nature of our Empire; second, on account of the extraordinarily rapid growth of the great Dominions which we regard as over-sea. Fifty years ago the United Kingdom was probably right in designating these states as colonies. Now she has to reckon with them as nations; nations which will exercise a large and increasing share upon the external policy of our Empire.

Canada, if we just glance at the beginning of the century, was, we find, a struggling, isolated settlement. She is now a great Dominion, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, having a population larger than England in Elizabeth's time, and more than some European states at the present day; having a sea trade equivalent to more than half the sea trade of Great Britain at the beginning of last century, and being one of the first shipping powers of the world. We have to reckon with the great position that the Dominion now occupies; it demands our recognition. We must understand her desire to assume responsibility and her determination to realize her own destiny in the Empire, if possible; her own destiny, in any case. I think the feeling of a great many in Canada has been voiced by Kipling, who perhaps more than any other person has fathomed the soul of the Empire, when he said:

> We've drunk to the Queen—God bless her !—
> We've drunk to our mothers' land ;
> We've drunk to our English brother,
> But he does not understand ;
> We've drunk to the wide creation,
> And the Cross swings low for the morn's
> Last toast, and of obligation,
> A health to the native-born !

I venture to think that the question of the native-born is one of the most pregnant factors in the Imperial position. I venture to think, also, that we who have studied the question in the Old Country both understand and sympathize with those national aspirations; that loyalty to the soil of Canada, loyalty to that fair Canadian land of which you are so proud. While we are proud to think that each of the individual nations is loyal to itself, as we in the United Kingdom are loyal to ourselves, there is a loyalty which is somewhat wider than loyalty to the native earth, or loyalty to the United Kingdom—a larger loyalty, which implies a faithfulness to that great Empire to which we all belong. The sentiment upon which that loyalty rests I for one do not fear to count upon, for it has its limits only with the British world. It has been proof against defects of any logical system; it will prove the main element of cohesion in a system of Imperial co-operation. Therefore, loyalty to our own individual countries is not inconsistent in the least with the true Imperialism which, while recognizing that each country must have the fullest scope for the development of its own individuality and for the conduct of its own affairs, recognizes that there must be an equal co-partnership for common Imperial objects. For that to take place the United Kingdom must cease—in fact, has ceased—to regard the great Dominions as children. She recognizes that they are great nations; that they are sons which must be taken into partnership and added to the efficiency of John Bull & Sons; otherwise they will set up as independent houses.

Now, gentlemen, one of the first indications of this would be the establishment, I venture to think, of separate Colonial navies, under separate Colonial control. The desire for this, which has been manifested in some quarters, is due to those national aspirations to which I have referred; also to a determination and a desire to get control over the money which is being spent, and the desire to see something for that expenditure. And the splitting up of naval forces is contrary to the teaching of history and to the canons of all naval strategy,

for the sea is all one, and it is only by one Navy that we can defend our position upon the sea. Predominance of sea force by a single Navy has been the history of the Empire, the determining factor in the situation from the days, for example, when all attention was concentrated upon the Napoleonic countries, where the master of many legions was practically the master of the land surface of the then habitable globe. The sole reason why he was prevented from really bringing an end to the British position was the naval supremacy of the British. That was spoken of by the great naval writer, Captain Mahan, when he said, referring to Napoleon: "The British ships stood between him and the Empire of the world."

The South African War was a military war; attention was concentrated upon the military aspects, but not one man could have been sent from these shores to fight in South Africa unless we had maintained command of the sea. And home and colonial soldiers, when fighting the Empire's battles in South Africa, knew that the ocean rolled between them and their home; and in that supreme effort, 7,000 miles away, they also knew that their rations and their supplies, from all quarters of the globe, would be as regular and as safely delivered in the heart of South Africa as at the railway station in England. Therefore, the necessity, which is pointed to as the great necessity of the Empire, is, first of all, one fleet under one control; second, a strong army, for the purpose of over-sea service outside the shores of the separate countries. What may be done with regard to the latter is not at present very clear, but probably interchangeability of troops and officers is the most satisfactory method that can be adopted at the present moment. All attempts at local and fragmentary defence will be the most expensive and the least effective method of co-operation. Unity of command and discipline is essential both for the Navy and the Army of the Empire.

What is at present being done by the great Dominions is probably known to you as well as it is to me. For

example, in Canada one finds some action being taken with regard to Halifax and Esquimalt. Australia is waking up to the great necessities of the present situation, and her Prime Minister, Mr. Deakin, is taking effective steps to organize a sea force in combination with the Admiralty at home, and that sea force will be under the control of the Admiralty in time of war, and will be provided by Australia. Mr. Deakin realized the position when he said: "Australia would lie open to the first comer but for the supremacy of the British nation on the high seas." The great burden imposed on the people of Britain was telling upon everything in that country, and Australia could not expect to receive the privilege of protection without bearing a share of the cost. Mr. Deakin realized that there was something outside of Australia's shores; that the rise of the power of Japan and the United States was altering the surface of the waters of the globe; was showing that in the not far-distant future we should have to face the possibility of war in the Pacific, rather than in the Atlantic, seas. For example, sixteen years ago only three great nations had first-class battleships, and they were confined to European countries. Now six nations have first-class battleships, and they are in the Pacific area as well as the European. This points to the necessity of combination between all parts of the Empire in every way, to develop their resources for meeting the exigencies of the future; not for purposes of aggression, but for securing the safety and conserving the interests of those great territories which have been added to our charge.

I would venture to remind you that we cannot defend the Empire upon voluntary and spontaneous effort. The sentiment which actuated those who went to fight for the common flag in South Africa was a magnificent one, but the disadvantage of relying upon spontaneous effort in the future is this: First of all, that it takes time to give effect to any such co-operation; second, that it is impossible to rely with certainty on exactly what will be available. This was very well shown in a few words by that great Imperialist, Hon. Joseph Howe,

the Nova Scotian statesman. When referring to this question, he said, in one of the most remarkable passages, I think, in the history of any statesman: "If there are any communities of British origin anywhere who desire to enjoy all the privileges and immunities of the Queen's subjects, without paying for and defending them, let us ascertain where and who they are. Let us measure the proportions of political repudiation now in a season of tranquillity, when we have leisure to gauge the extent of the evil and to apply correctives, rather than wait till war finds us unprepared and leaning upon presumptions in which there is no reality."

I venture to think that Canada will soon recognize that, while she has been growing in size, other nations have been growing, too, and other nations have been growing, too, in power. They are preparing in deadly earnest for the welfare of the future. Germany in ten years has trebled her expenditure upon the navy; the United States in ten years has quadrupled hers; and though the United Kingdom has aimed, with grim determination, to maintain at all costs the integrity of the Empire, we must realize that, looking forward little more than a generation, her resources will be taxed to the utmost to meet the exigencies of a world-wide state. Indeed, we have already been forced to enter into an alliance with a naval power—Japan. And, while the United Kingdom is prepared, as you all know, to face the responsibility alone, she is not calling upon the great Dominion for contributions to a poor-box. It is no question of her ability in the future that she would welcome effective combination. In the words of our great statesman, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain: "We do want your aid in the administration of this vast Empire. It is yours as well as ours, and I venture to think—in fact, I know—that the statesmen of the United Kingdom would welcome suggestions from the over-sea Dominions as to the lines upon which it would be acceptable for them to co-operate for the defence of the Empire."

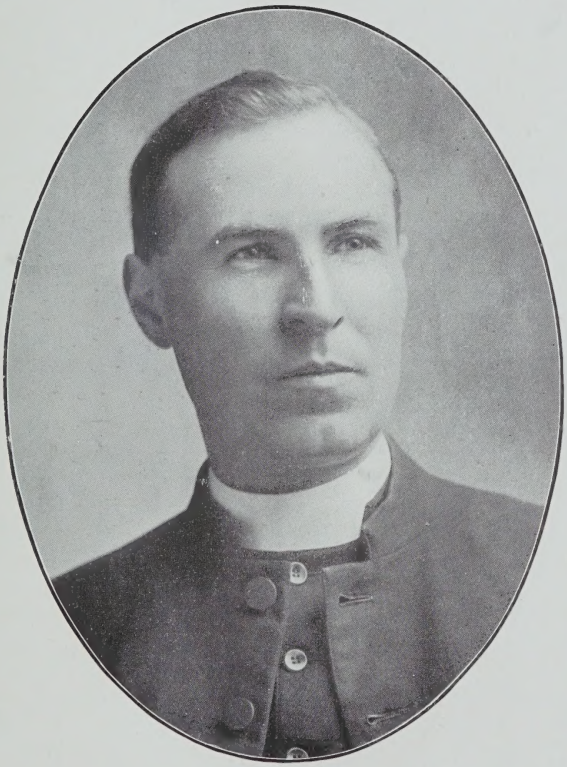
My Committee hopes that by gaining a knowledge of the attitude here it may assist in the determination and

in the solution of the lines upon which it may be possible to co-operate for the naval and military security of the Empire in the future; and we believe that when Canada and the thoughtful people of Canada give attention to this question, as you are doing, they will realize that the greatest efficiency and the greatest economy will be for Canada to take a share in the maintenance of the traditions, avail herself of the stored-up knowledge of centuries of history, and take a joint partnership in the ownership of the greatest Navy the world has ever seen. But before anything effective can be accomplished there must be, of necessity, some better machinery for consolidation. By the rise of foreign Powers, to which I have referred, and the growth of the Dominions, the latter are constantly being brought into contact with world questions, and they must claim an increasing voice in the regulation of the foreign policy of the Empire. At present the Colonies have no constitutional voice, and are apt to think their interests are being subordinated to the situation in Europe; and, on the other hand, the United Kingdom realizes that foreign questions almost entirely arise from our colonial interests. In fact, as an ex-Foreign Minister, Lord Rosebery, put it: "Our foreign policy has now become a colonial policy, and is more dictated from the extremities of the Empire than from London itself."

Here, again, of course, it is a question of defence, for the Navy is the only force which gives any weight to our Ambassadors speaking to other nations in a foreign country. The immediate point as regards the consolidation must be that that consolidation should be systematic; that it should not be a mere reference to those Dominion representatives who happened to be over in the United Kingdom at the time, but that, perhaps, there should be the institution of a regular Imperial Office in London, outside the Colonial Office, having representatives there of the over-sea Dominions, who would form, as it were, Secretaries to the Prime Ministers in the various Colonies; and we should then have a real Intelligence department working between the Imperial Con-

ferences, co-ordinating and collecting information, which would be dealt with when those Conferences met. Or, again, we might have, so far as representation is concerned, more frequent Imperial Conferences, or possibly the institution of an Imperial Council, which, in the first instance, would be advisory, and which would deal with questions of foreign policy and of defence. It is upon these questions of representation, largely, which I desire to seek opinions in this country, as to what really would be satisfactory, so far as the feeling of the Dominions is concerned; and I believe that Canada has determined that the best opportunity will be afforded her for her own scope and for working out her own destiny within the Empire, and not without.

I do not believe, for example, that the view which was expressed not long ago by Sir Frederick Borden is the view of the Canadian people when he said: "Canada has no need of protection by sea, because she depends upon the Monroe Doctrine of the United States." I venture to think that this is not the sentiment of the Canadian people. But those gentlemen who agree that the maintenance of the Empire is worthy of the highest efforts of the greatest statesmen, and is worthy of some mutual sacrifices, I hope may possibly co-operate with us in the Old Country in forming a Committee out here, which may keep in touch with our thought at home. It would fitly consist of those persons who believe as I believe; who have, I should say as I have, and as many of us in England have, a profound faith in the future—a belief that the Dominions will rise to that high level of unselfish patriotism which will put the cause of each individual state second to the cause of our common Empire; which will subordinate its own ideals only to the ideals and to the good of a united whole; for only by those means, I venture to think, will Canada realize her destiny and enable the Empire to realize its great future.



The Rev. Canon H. J. Cody, D.D., LL.D.,
of Toronto, Ont.

RELIGIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD IMPERIAL UNITY.

An address by the REV. CANON H. J. CODY, D.D., LL.D., before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 5th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Sometimes we are apt to overlook the most important things just because they are the deepest things—the things about which we feel most strongly. And, after we have spoken of trade and commerce and defence, we perhaps forget to mention, though we do not forget to think of, a factor that is stronger and deeper than any of these—the religious factor. For, after all, man is a religious animal; that is one of the best definitions that can be given of him—he is fundamentally religious. And if the deepest thing about a man is his attitude toward the Supreme Being, then that attitude must tell upon all his activities. Has this attitude toward the Supreme Being had any bearing at all upon the growth and maintenance of the idea of an Imperial unity? It seems to me that when you go far back to the days of King Jeroboam, in the history of Israel, you have a political leader appreciating the value of religious unity to ensure political unity. He felt at once that if the people in his land went up to another religious centre to worship, the political unity that he was trying to maintain would no longer be possible. He recognized the value of religion as a factor in political unity.

When you come to the days of the Roman Empire you find, gradually, the different national religions locally breaking down. Every Pagan religion is local, and cannot be a universal religion. When the Roman Empire swept away national barriers national religion went. What remained? Did the wise heads of the Roman Empire think that they could maintain a political unity without a religious unity? Not for a moment; and

gradually there was introduced the worship of the genius of the Empire that speedily took a more concrete form, and everywhere throughout the Roman Empire men worshipped the Emperor. He was deified. Past Emperors were deified. So you have, as modern researches show, that remarkable phenomenon of Emperor-worship. It was the feeling of the Roman Empire after some religion that would bind the whole realm together. Later on, when Julian, the apostate, strove to revive Paganism, he appreciated the growing power of Christianity as an aid to unity, and he tried to organize a paganism on the basis of a universal religion; and he tried to have Neo-platonism adopted as a religion to be a centre and force of unity in the whole Roman Empire.

When you come to the mediæval days, as Professor Bryce, now Ambassador to the United States, has demonstrated in his great treatise on the Holy Roman Empire, there were two great concepts that dominated —the concept of the Holy Roman Empire, the continuation of that world-wide and universal Empire, and side by side with that, the Holy Roman Church. On the civil side the Emperor was the head; on the religious side the Bishop of Rome was the head. But there was the idea that you cannot have a world-wide Empire without a world-wide religious bond—the Holy Roman Church. Go back to the early days of English history; it may be a surprise to some to know that the principle that united the various dismembered Saxon tribes in England was a religious principle. There was a unity of the Church in England long before there was a political unity. It was through the Church that the union occurred. The Church is an older English institution than the civil power. So much by the way of general introduction as to the influence that religion has been recognized to have on the general subject of a national or Imperial unity in different ages.

We have to-day the idea of Imperial unity. Now, so far as the British Empire is concerned, that is of comparatively recent growth. It is one of the most

remarkable phenomena in the history of the world that a little island should gradually have overspread practically the whole world. This Empire has been built up; no, it has grown up, like Topsy. It was not trained, it "growed." It has grown up almost in spite of itself, not from any settled national policy, not as a result of some great deep-seated public design or policy, but primarily to find an outlet for an overflowing, vigorous population that went everywhere, bringing with it its ideals of home and its restless spirit of commercial enterprise. At first we virtually stumbled upon the best unoccupied parts of the world. We blundered into our Imperial heritage. That is so in regard to India. It seems almost a happy accident that any representatives of England or Scotland or Ireland ever came to India. Nobody realized the prize or thought of seizing it at the outset. When Australia was discovered some British representatives thought that the country was hopeless for lack of water; that its climate practically forbade habitation.

We know what was thought of Canada. I am sure that in the old days the Government at home thought very much of Canada what Louis the Fourteenth thought of it—a few acres of snow and ice, and Indians and buffalo. So far as there was any Colonial policy at all, that policy was bad. But in so saying, we are only saying that the Colonial policies of all European countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were bad also. The only difference is that in England we learned wisdom from our mistakes. Whereas, once upon a time there was a greater France, and a greater Portugal, and a greater Spain, there is now only a Greater Britain. That period of bad Colonial policy was followed by a period of utter indifference, the cut-the-painter period. Let the Colonies go their own way; they are not contributory to the general welfare of the Empire; their loss will not be felt; it may be better for themselves! That period has gone, and we are living to-day not in a period of apathy, scarcely in a period of sympathy; there is a period of growing enthusiasm

for the idea of Imperial unity, a general scheme of Imperial administration that is compatible with the fullest measure of self-government for the individual communities. Liberty and equality rule under the British flag.

Now the Empire has been built up by the sword, I suppose it could not live without the sword; but it does not live by the sword. Other Empires have been based upon armies, or on constitutions, or on the will of a single parliament, or even on trade; but the British Empire rests upon the intelligence and integrity of the men who are the constituent parts thereof; and the Empire that has accrued to us, I am sure, is not a mere aggregation of bodies that trade together, but it is sacred as being the noblest example that yet has been known of free, adaptable and just government. That is the idea of Imperial unity that is now with us. What are the elements that are tributary to it? There is the fact that we are under one Sovereign; the golden crown of a peace-loving and peace-making King is the golden link that binds us all together. There is the element of defence—that is a tributary element. The Empire has almost been born again since the South African War. There is common origin; we have come from one stock; we speak one tongue; we have one glorious and splendid literature. We are now seeking to get more and more of a common trade. There is a difference of opinion as to how far that may go, but we are aiming at something more in the line of common trade. We have common social and political ideas. Wherever the English-speaking folk have gone they have carried with them ideals like these; reverence for home, for family life; some tradition of honesty in business life; some respect for law; some sense of duty; some patient force to change the laws when we will, in constitutional ways; some deep-seated regard for freedom and for justice; some belief in education; and deepest of all, I think, in these elements that go to make up the idea of an Imperial unity, is the element of a common Christian religion.

In the Empire, of course, there are millions of people who are not of the Christian faith. They have come in, and while not subject races, they are races more or less governed by English-speaking persons, by representatives from the Old Land. We are specially emphasizing, of course, the English-speaking element in the Empire. How has this religious element, this common religion, been carried to all parts of the Empire, and how is it contributory to the idea of Imperial unity? In the first place, whenever the emigrants went to any part of the Empire they carried with them the ministrations of religion. All the British branches of the Christian religion have had their preachers and pioneer ministers going to the uttermost parts of the earth and ministering to the wants of the people. That was a tie binding all the Colonies to the Mother land. In the second place, the various Church organizations that have been formed in the different parts of the world, while reasonably autonomous themselves, are bound by their sacred traditions to the little Island across the sea.

If a man came from Ireland and was a member of the Roman Catholic faith, he remembered all the scenes and all the stirring events in the history of his own race on its religious side. If a man were an Englander, he still looked back to Oxford and Cambridge as the old historical training centres for his clergy, to Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's as the ideal temples of his faith. He was, by his very traditions, bound to think back and to think across the sea. If a man is a Presbyterian, what are the names that evoke his deepest enthusiasm? He thinks of the training schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh and Aberdeen, and all the stirring scenes and heroic struggles in the history of his own Church. Is he a Methodist? The very name takes him back to old Oxford and he thinks of John Wesley; he makes his pilgrimage there or to the Red Chapel in London, and sees the pillar contributed from every part of the British Empire. Is he a Congregationalist? His mind leaps back at once to the old traditions, and he is proud

that Oliver Cromwell was the great champion of independence and toleration of thought. Is he a Baptist? He thinks of those early heroes who did fight and suffer for liberty of speech and thought, for religious toleration. He thinks of John Bunyan, and he is proud as he thinks of him.

There has been world-wide missionary enterprise carried on in all the heathen parts of the Empire. Now some have difference of opinion on the subject of the validity and worth of foreign missions. I do not want to enter upon that discussion. I am inclined to think that the day is past when you can make a good cause against them. That is my frank opinion on the subject. And the idea of Imperial unity is simply making it impossible for anybody to have a local and provincial religion. You have got at least to be as wide as the Empire, and when you come to religion there is a wider word even than Britain, and that is the word man. But look in India. There in India has been going on for some generations now a process of disintegration of the ancient faiths. There is wide unrest in India. I heard Mr. Bryce three years ago speaking at a great meeting in London. It was a meeting in connection with the English Presbyterian Church. And he had just come back from a long visit to India. He referred to this disintegration of the old faiths, and he said that, in his judgment, this was the time and opportunity and call to the Christian Church in all its branches, to go in and give a religion that would be sane and true, in place of a non-existent religion. The old religious beliefs were gone from the educated classes and there was as yet nothing to take their place.

Mr. Bryce said, "Go in and try and win India to the Christian faith." One could quote testimony from living statesmen without end to that same effect. I had the opportunity when I was in England last June of speaking to the Lieutenant-Governor of one of the great Provinces. His words were almost identical: "No Governor of India who has been there for years and knows the people and the conditions will stand up

and condemn missionary work. It is regarded as being one of the greatest safeguards for the peace of India." Gentlemen, do you remember this: that after the Mutiny there was a discussion as to whether the missionaries had not caused the Mutiny? And these facts were proven—that it was precisely those Brahman Sepoys who had been kept by the authorities from Christian influence who mutinied. In the second place, that in those parts of India where most missionary work had been done there was no mutiny. Third, that those great officers, like the Lawrences and the Edwards, and that magnificent company of heroes, were the men who were the most out-and-out Christians. They were the men who stopped the Mutiny and saved India for the British Crown. And while the British Empire gives the widest toleration and is no propagandist, it remains true in those classic words of Lord Lawrence that "Christian things done in a Christian way will never cause trouble. It is unchristian things done in the guise of Christianity that cause the mischief." Those words are true to-day.

In Africa, gentlemen, you have Eastern Equatorial Africa under the British Crown to-day; Uganda, that whole community, a great nation, rescued from the heart of darkest Africa by missionary enterprise. In the South Sea Islands there has been a complete moral transformation. If anyone wants testimony on that point read Robert Louis Stevenson, and vou will find from him the highest possible tribute that could be paid to the moral and civilizing and transforming influences of the work of Christian missionaries. Everybody knows the transformation in New Zealand. The Maoris, a few generations ago wild men, to-day a Christian people. The result of all this has been to bring together in an intelligent way a contribution towards the creation and maintenance of the spirit of a common love of Imperial unity. Four elements contribute towards this unity. First, religious gatherings. There have been Pan-Presbyterian Councils. Congregational Councils, Eucharistic Conferences, Pan-Anglican

Congresses. Of course, they are wider than the Empire, but they include the Empire, and I want just for a few minutes to say a word or two about some Imperial features that struck me in connection with that Pan-Anglican Congress in London last June. It is that side of the thing that will appeal to anyone as a citizen of the Empire. In connection with the Imperial features of that matter, may I say a word about the *personnel.* There were some two hundred Bishops of the Anglican communion there from all parts of the Empire.

I stood on the steps of old St. Paul's Cathedral and saw the great procession sweep down and come out of the front of St. Paul's. It seemed to me that this, in a sense, was the unfolding of the Empire, as those Bishops walked according to their Provinces, one section of the Empire in one of its religious phases after another appearing before you. Here you had the Bishops from India, eleven men, some of the brainiest and most statesmanlike men in the whole Empire; here you had men from Africa—Bishop Tucker of Uganda and Bishop Tugwell of Western Africa, the latter fighting the men at home on the subject of the drink traffic, which is ruining and debauching the natives there; and he was making a strong fight for the salvation, moral and physical, of that people. And stranger than any of these were two negroes, as black as they could be, who forty years ago were slaves, and were rescued and trained in schools, and now took their place among their brothers as Bishops in the wide Anglican communion. To me it was a most thrilling sight from the Imperial as well as the religious point of view. They came from South Africa, from the Indies, from Australia, from the islands in the South Sea, from New Zealand, our own Canadian Bishops, and the Bishop of Newfoundland—and I would like to suggest that before Sir Wilfrid gets through building the nation and finishing the Grand Trunk Pacific he brings in Newfoundland; I believe it is the next great step in Canada's advance. The mere *personnel* of these

men was an unfolding of representatives from every part of the Empire.

The second feature that struck me was this—the English hospitality; the home feeling that was engendered. We all felt we were at home, and they tried to make us feel at home. The Prince of Wales, who is the representative of Britain beyond the seas, received all the representatives from every quarter of the Empire, and then the King and Queen graced the gathering with their presence, and to them we were presented—black men, and white men, and yellow men, Hindoos and Japanese and Chinese, as well as the missionaries from every part of the British Empire. The home feeling was there. What will that do to increase this feeling of unity in the Empire? Who can begin to express it? A third feature growing out of this was that before the mind of the English people you had, as it were, in panoramic view, set forth the actual religious work that is being done in every part of the British Empire. In that old church of Saint Lawrence down by the Guild Hall in the heart of the city, a series of services were arranged, whereby representatives from every part of the Empire spoke to the city men about their needs. The Bishop of Pretoria, of Bloemfontein, of Auckland in New Zealand, of Columbia on the Pacific Coast, the Bishop of the Falkland Islands, the Bishop of Lahore from India—men speaking about and embodying the needs and the actualities of the Empire. When these things come to the mind of the English people at home in sections, it does not make the same impression; but when you have volley after volley fired, and men from every part of the Empire meeting together, and almost at once, representing their countries, what an enormous effect it must have in making the idea of Imperial unity a reality.

And then a fourth feature was the joint discussion, with joint experiences, of the common problems of every part of the Empire. We all have the problem of social reform in its various aspects. Was it not something that would

tend to bind all parts of the Empire together when men in Australia told about their experiences, of their experiments in the labour problem; when men from New Zealand came to describe their experiments in arbitration, their anti-gambling laws; when men from South Africa told of their social difficulties and the race problem? That race problem was discussed from every conceivable point of view. One thing that emerged was this—that no statesman can afford to overlook the enormous contribution which religion is making in solving the race problem; smoothing off the asperities and bringing all the diverse races of the Empire into something like harmonious working. It requires a great deal more than political force to do that. You need far deeper forces, and I am sure it was recognized by the authorities in England that the Churches in their various parts of the Empire were making no small contribution to lessening the danger that arises from racial hatred or racial antipathy. The result of this Congress was a marvellous contribution towards the idea of Imperial unity.

It would not be right or fair to stop with that word. I have not said a word about the American representatives, nor about those who were working outside of the Empire, but whenever, gentlemen, we touch the sphere of religion, we get far beyond national bounds, even beyond the Imperial bounds, and what was made even clearer than the idea of the unity, religiously, of the Empire, was the potential unity of the world. The cosmopolitan spirit was abroad. The true cosmopolitan spirit is never antagonistic to true patriotism. We do not want to be like that famous man, his name I shall not mention, of whom it was said, "he was the cosmopolitan friend of every man's country but his own." The true cosmopolitan spirit is not inconsistent with the spirit of patriotism, and I believe that the spirit of Imperial unity has in the past been enormously aided by religion; that in its purity, in its ennobling elements, it will be conserved by the spirit of religion. And these great free peoples in the Empire will be enabled with

enthusiasm and safety to work together, side by side; to hand down unimpaired to their children's children the glorious inheritance they have received, to hand it down increased and enhanced; and these free peoples will be ready to stand shoulder to shoulder to forward Britain's great mission of peace and goodwill, of freedom and justice in the world. William Watson apostrophised the Colonies, the free places in the Empire, at the time of the South African War in words that are historic: "The British Empire is just beginning its world-wide mission. Young is she yet, her world task just begun by you, the Colonies. We know her safe, and know by you, her veins are million, but her heart is one."

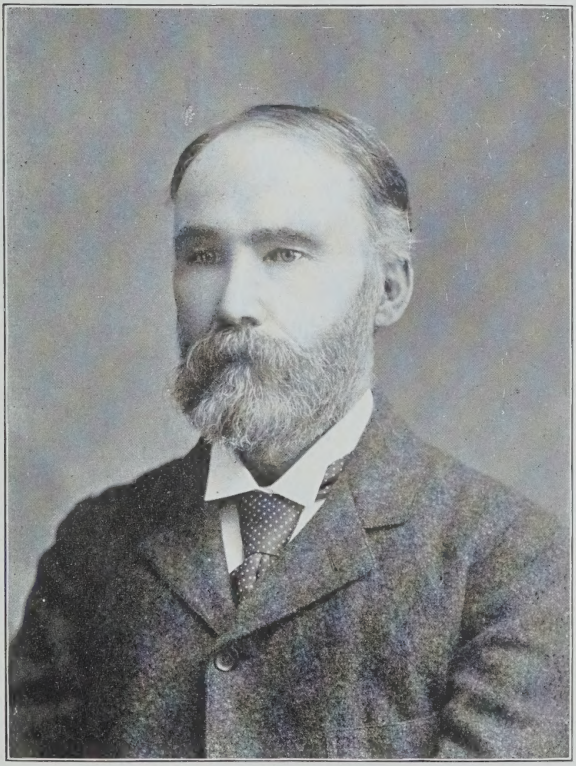
THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.

An address by the HON. GEORGE W. ROSS, LL.D., Senator of Canada, before the Empire Club, on November 12th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I was delighted to notice that your President announced a series of addresses on the various Colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. It is a very fruitful field, and I am sure the lectures will be exceedingly instructive. It is well for us to compare our trade relations with the Empire and with the Colonies of the Empire, and with foreign countries, so that we can really understand the sources and fluctuations of these relations; and I think it is also important that we should study the constitution of other Colonies, the difference between a self-governing Colony and a Crown Colony, and a military Colony, or out-post, in order that we may see in what various forms the people, the Anglo-Saxon race, has developed itself.

The Australian Commonwealth is very interesting. You notice the term Commonwealth. We have taken for our designation the Dominion of Canada. I do not know, if it was put to vote, which this audience would prefer. Sir John Macdonald wanted us to be called the "Kingdom of Canada." That proposition was withdrawn at the request of Lord Derby, for he thought that a kingdom right here beside the Americans would not quite suit, and it was considered better to call it the "Dominion of Canada," and since that time New Zealand has taken the same title. Since that time also, His Majesty has incorporated the title of Canada in his official title, for he is King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of British Dominions beyond the Seas. Before, if he were King of the kingdoms beyond the seas, he did not say so, but



THE HON. GEORGE W. ROSS, LL.D.

Senator of Canada, Toronto, Ont.

he says so now. The Australian Commonwealth is a country of great area, 2,900,000 miles in extent, only about 800,000 square miles smaller than Canada; as large as eight or nine Germanys or Frances, and about twenty-four times as large as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It has a population of 4,000,000 as against our 7,000,000. It carries a nice little round debt of $1,200,000,000 as against our debt of $250,000,000, so we can afford to throw a good deal of money around yet before we are as much involved as Australia. It has some very large cities, too. Sydney, 486,000 of a population, on the east coast; Melbourne, 526,000; so our cities have to grow a little yet before they will rival the large cities of Australia.

The constitution follows very closely the terminology, as well as the outline, of the counstitution of United States; much more so than ours. We tried to get reasonably far away from the American constitution. We formed ours at the time when they had just passed through a Civil War and when we thought we had discovered some weaknesses in their constitution and that we could improve on it. The Australians have followed the American constitution more closely. For instance, they call what we know as a Province, a State; what we call House of Commons, they call House of Representatives; what we call Privy Council, they call a Cabinet. These are the terms used in the United States for the corresponding offices or functions. The outstanding features of the Australian constitution may be briefly summed up.

In the first place, the Senate consists of six representatives from each State. We are not so represented. In the United States you know that the Senate consists of two representatives from each State, no matter whether the State is large or small. Australia is a little more generous, and sends six from each State. There are in Canada those who believe that our Senate should be similarly constituted. As it is now, Ontario sends twenty-four; Quebec, twenty-four; the Maritime Provinces grouped, twenty-four, and the re-

maining fifteen are scattered among the Western Provinces. The Senate is elective in Australia for a period of six years, half the number retiring at the end of a period of three years. The United States Senate is appointed by the States. Ours is a nominative Senate. The House of Lords is a nominative and hereditary Senate. The German Senate is elected annually, and so on. The Australian Senate is elected by each State as one electoral division. They have no electoral divisions for each centre, so that if any of you go to Australia and run for the Senate, the whole State will have to vote for or against you. That is supposed to bring out the best men. When we had an elective Senate in Canada, a Province was divided into districts, and each district sent its representative. It requires a tolerably tall man to be seen all over a Province. The term of the Senate is for six years. That is, generally, the constitution of the Senate. No property qualification is required. The same qualification for a Senator does for an ordinary member of the House of Representatives.

One striking feature of the Australian constitution, and in that respect it resembles the American constitution, is that the powers of the Provincial Legislatures are not defined. I think we made a mistake in defining the jurisdiction of our Provinces. In framing the United States constitution, the Central Government can do so and so, and what the Central cannot do is relegated to the State Government. We said the Central can do thus, and so on, and the local Governments can do thus, and so on, and what is left the Dominion Government, or Central Government, can do, and in that respect there has been considerable confusion. For instance, we have concurrent legislation in education. The Provinces manage the schools, but if there is any interference with the principle of religious education the Dominion interferes; did interfere in 1896 with a great deal of trouble. The State Legislatures in Australia deal entirely with education, and there is no interference by the Central Legislature. It is the same in

agriculture. Both the Dominion and Provinces can deal with agriculture, also immigration. There is no such mixture in the United States or in the Legislatures of Australia. Another important point is that the Central Government cannot veto the legislation of the Province. We may pass as good a law as we please in the Queen's Park, but if it does not suit the Central Government at Ottawa they may veto it. And we have had a great deal of trouble in former years; for instance, the Streams Bill, which was vetoed by the Central Government. The Central Government cannot veto the legislation of the State Governments, and I think that is right. That is the law of the United States—Congress cannot veto the legislation of a State. If the legislation of a State is *ultra vires* and exceeds its jurisdiction it is for the Courts to say so, and it is the Supreme Court of the United States which has that power, and the Federal Court of Australia has a similar power.

Another curious thing is that while the Central Government cannot veto the legislation of a Province, the Imperial Government can. The history of that is that the various Provinces or States of Australia retained all the power they had on entering confederation, except what they gave to the Central Government, and one of the powers they had before they entered confederation was that the Sovereign could veto the legislation of the States. That power the King retains. Whether they are better off by that veto being in London than we are by having ours in Ottawa, one cannot tell. Another peculiar thing is that the Governors of the States are not appointed by the Central Government as in Canada. Our present Lieutenant-Governor and all his predecessors owed their appointment to the Governor at Ottawa. The Provinces or States in Australia have Governors appointed by the Sovereign, so that in that respect there is a material difference. Then the House of Representatives, that is what we call the House of Commons, is elected on the same qualifications as the Senate. The representation of the House

of Commons is double that of the Senate. For instance, there are seven States; that would make forty-two Senators. There are eighty-four members in the House of Representatives. Our representation, as you know, turns upon the unit which we get by dividing the population of Quebec by the number 65, being the number of representatives that the Province of Quebec had at the time she entered Confederation.

The Province of Ontario lost a number of members at the last decennial distribution because, relatively, our population had not increased as fast as the Province of Quebec. If we are to keep our representation in the House of Commons, our ratio of population must increase, and in that way only can we be fully represented. There is no such danger in Australia, for at all times the population represents twice the number of the Senate. The unit there is obtained in a simple way—just by dividing the number of Senators into the population of the whole of the Commonwealth, and the unit will apply to the larger and to the smaller Province. There is provision in their constitution that no State or Province shall be unrepresented in the Legislature. The term of a member of the House of Representatives is three years. Our Parliament is five. Practically it has been four. We have had only three Parliaments since Confederation in which Parliament ran its full term of five years. The English term is seven years, and rarely runs more than three or four years—the average in the last hundred years amounts to about four years and a few months. If a member of the Senate or House of Commons is absent for two months, consecutively, from his place, he vacates his seat unless he is absent by leave. If that law was applied to Canada, I think there would be a few vacancies! The indemnity is $2,000, practically the same as the indemnity in Canada.

When the writ is issued for a general election in Australia, the law requires that Parliament shall meet within thirty days of the return of the writ. That is a provision of the constitution, and a very good one it

is. The object is to see that the Commonwealth is not for any long period of time without a Parliament. In England, Parliament is called within thirty-five days of the issue of the writ. The elections pass over there in about twenty to twenty-one days. England insists that for only as short a period as is practicable shall the Empire be without a Parliament. We may be for a long time without a Parliament, the greater part of a year, indeed. In Australia, as in Canada, Parliament must meet at least once every year. I spoke of the constitution of the Senate—six members to each Province—and of the House of Commons. We have two elective Houses there. The theory of government under the British system is that both Houses should not be constituted after the same principle. That is the theory of the British Parliament. That was the theory of the old Parliament of Canada, and is the theory of the present one. That is the theory of the United States, practically, for, while the members of the House of Representatives are elective, the members of the Senate are appointed by the State Legislatures.

Now comes the provision in the State Legislatures whereby a dead-lock may be overcome. Some people are very much afraid of a dead-lock in the Legislature. It is a very inconvenient thing under any circumstances, and we have had it in our Legislature years ago. Mr. Goldwin Smith says that it was dead-lock that gave us Confederation. I do not know whether he was right or not, but it looks as if it were the case. In two years we had no less than five different Governments in Canada. A dead-lock in Canada is now overcome in two ways. Our constitution provides that when the House of Commons and the Senate disagree the Government may recommend the addition of six Senators, providing that by the appointment of six the dead-lock would be overcome. If the dead-lock cannot be overcome in that way, that is, if the majority against the proposal is more than six, then Senators could not be appointed to overcome the dead-lock, so that when the majority is over six, there is no way of overcoming it.

Either party must yield, and, as the Senate has the last word, the House of Commons has to yield. Now, in Britain if there is a dead-lock, the King may appoint as many members of the House of Lords as he pleases. In the case of the difficulty over the Reform Bill in 1832, the King was asked to appoint a sufficient number of Lords to overcome that difficulty, and after a great deal of coaxing he agreed to do so, but the Lords absented themselves and allowed the Bill to pass. So that the number was not appointed, and the dead-lock was not overcome, a wise precaution on their part.

In Australia, if there is a dead-lock—that is to say, if a bill is rejected twice in the same Session, an interval of three months elapsing between the rejections, or if a bill of the House of Commons is rejected two Sessions in succession—the Governor may cause a dissolution of both Houses. A general election is held. Then the two Houses meet and if the dead-lock still continues between the two, then the two Houses meet as one body and whatever the majority may be, meeting as one body, overcomes the dead-lock. It is a very simple process. It is more effective than ours. Ours is only effective within a small area. A dead-lock in Australia can be overcome no matter what the difficulty is. The constitution of Australia is amended in a very peculiar way. You know how our constitution is amended. All we have to do is to pass a bill or send a draft of a bill, which is agreed to practically by the Parliament of Canada, to the British House of Commons, and they adopt that amendment. We have had only four amendments to our constitution so far, none of them important.

The constitution of the United States, as you know, is amended as follows: Two-thirds of the representatives of the Senate and the House of Representatives agree and three-fourths of the States concur in that agreement. In that way fifteen amendments have been made to the constitution. That is a tedious process. In Australia it is done in this way: Two-thirds of the Legislature must agree to a certain amendment. It is then referred to a population vote. A majority of the

voters in each of the States must vote for it and that majority must represent a majority of the whole electorate of Australia, so that you go through a very labyrinth in form in getting an amendment to the constitution of Australia; but they wanted to have a permanent constitution. In the preamble, they said they were forming an "indisolluble federal union." I think they succeeded. In Australia a Minister can only hold his seat in the Cabinet for three months, unless he can find a constituency to stand at his back. I think that is a very good provision. In Canada and England, a Minister can hold his seat pretty nearly as long as they will let him whether he has a constituency to represent or not. In England a Minister has held his seat for two years without representing any constituency.

The provision made for the financial maintenance of the States is different from ours. You know how our Provinces get their money. Of course they get some from succession duties, a local tax, some from corporation dues, forest and timber dues. They get some of it from license fees and so on. But they get a considerable block from the Dominion in a special grant. We in Ontario get nearly two million dollars now. In the United States, the States are supported entirely by State tax. In Australia, the Central Government collects all the taxes, all the customs dues, and holds one-fourth for its own use, and pays the other three-fourths over to the Provinces according to population. The Central Government here collects all it can by way of duties and tariffs and gives the Provinces a very small amount, about three per cent. of what it collects. In Australia they pay over seventy-five per cent. of what they collect to the various States for their maintenance. In order to get over the difficulty of free commerce between the different States, the constitution provides for an Interstate Commerce Commission. The United States appointed one a few years ago, about 1885, and it has been a great advantage, for it regulates railway tariffs and charges. We have a Railway Commission that serves the same purpose.

Australia was warned by the experience of the United States and has adopted an Interstate Commerce Commission from its inception. They have in the United States constitution, also, a provision that no religious test is allowed for an appointment, nor can the State prohibit any form of religious worship. You will find almost the exact words in the United States constitution which are to be found in the constitution of Australia. We have no such provision in our Canadian constitution. Of course we are not afraid that there will be any disqualification in Canada of a religious kind. It is remarkable that Canada led, in this respect, the British Empire. As far back as 1774, it was provided by the Quebec Act that there should be no religious test in appointment to office, although in England, at the same time, and away down to the Catholic Emancipation Act, no Roman Catholic could be elected to Parliament; nor could a Roman Catholic hold a seat, or a commission in the Army. The Catholic Emancipation Act swept away these disabilities, and a curious thing it was that no person could take a degree in Oxford or Cambridge unless he subscribed to the Twenty-Nine Articles. Australia has followed our lead. And in another respect Canada has directed legislation. We abolished slavery in 1793, and it was not until considerably later that it was abolished in the British Empire generally, and in 1863 in the United States.

The Australian Senate has no power over a Money Bill except to reject the whole Supply Bill; nor over customs or excise laws except to reject them. In the United States, Money Bills originate in the House of Representatives, but, strange to say, although I think it was intended by the founders that the Senate should not interfere with them, under another provision the Senate has the power to amend a Money Bill and has the power to amend the tariffs and customs, so that when an Appropriation Bill is sent up from the Senate it may be greatly modified before it is passed. We cannot increase the Supply Bill of the House of Commons of Canada one dollar, nor can we reduce it. We can

turn it out. In Lower Canada, previous to the Rebellion, it was a common thing to stop the Supply Bill, and that was one of the ways in which the crisis was precipitated and the constitution of Quebec repealed.

Here is the difference in Australia: Although the Senate cannot amend a Money Bill it can send recommendations to the House of Representatives asking for certain amendments, which the House may adopt or reject as it pleases. We in Canada have not even the power to recommend a reduction or an increase. Our position is the same position as the House of Lords. Another difference between the Australian Commonwealth and that of Canada is that the criminal law originates with the States, and each State may have a Criminal Law of its own. There may also be as many different criminal laws in the United States as there are States in the Union. In Canada, which I think has a better system, the Criminal Law is under the control of the Central Government, and the law of divorce is under the control of the Central Government mainly. As to the law of divorce, however, there was a divorce court in British Columbia and Nova Scotia prior to Federation and they still exercise jurisdiction. Residents outside these Provinces have to apply to the House of Commons for a repeal of their marriage obligations. In Australia divorce is under the control of the Central Government, so that there are uniform laws in Australia, as there ought to be in Canada, and as there is not in the United States, for each State there has the right to regulate its own laws of divorce.

I have not gone into all the details as I might, but have given you the main features and you can see wherein the Australian constitution corresponds to ours, and perhaps some points of difference between it and the United States.

This view of Australia will enable us to see better where we are, and by pursuing these investigations we can become better informed in regard to modes of government, and perhaps appreciate all the more the Government which we ourselves enjoy.

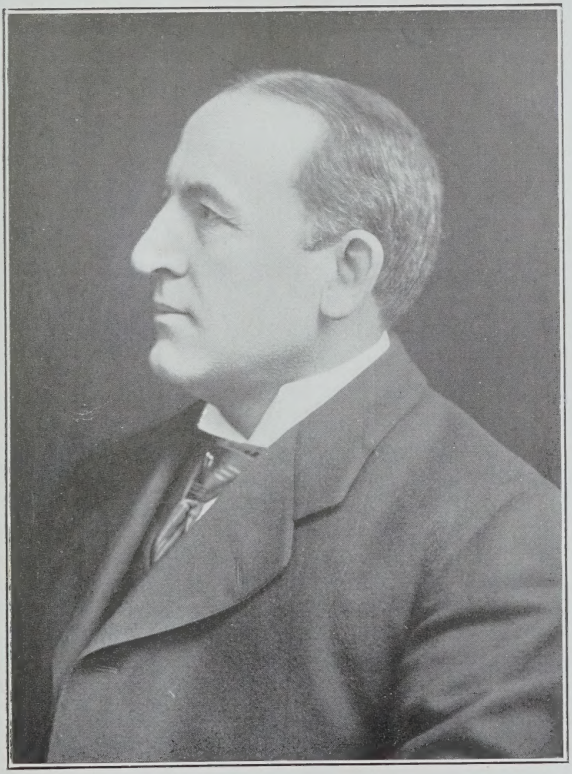
BRITISH DIPLOMACY.

An address by MR. R. S. NEVILLE, K.C., of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 18th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

On the eve of the battle of Arbela, Darius sent envoys to Alexander the Great to sue for peace. Alexander sent back this message: "Tell your Sovereign that the world will not permit two suns nor two Sovereigns." The next day he overthrew Darius and made himself the overlord of the known world. This idea of universal dominion cursed the world from the fall of Babylon to the fall of Napoleon. It had its highest exemplification in the Roman Empire, which turned the world into a vast prison-house, within which resistance meant death, and from which there was no escape, except to the fens and forests beyond the pale of organized society. But the great Empire fell. Slavery destroyed free labour; a false economical system and oppressive taxation ruined the middle classes; the heart was eaten out of the Empire and it became an empty shell, already useless to mankind, before the so-called barbarians invaded and dismembered it.

But the idea of universal dominion was not dead. It survived in theory in the Holy Roman Empire. It was aimed at by Charlemagne; by Charles V.; by Philip of Spain; by Louis XIV.; and certainly it was threatened by Napoleon Bonaparte. Now the aggressive Imperialism which aims at the establishment of universal dominion upon the ruins of the national liberties of the civilized world is the kind that has made the word "Imperialism" offensive to all freedom-loving men. It is always followed by the loss of individual liberty, and is incompatible with human freedom in any form. Circumstances, as well as inclination, ordained that the English people



MR. R. S. NEVILLE, K.C.,
of Toronto, Ont.

should oppose a monopoly of power. England was repeatedly invaded and conquered up to the year 1066, and in all cases, except that of the Romans, the conquerors and their kin remained in the country. These experiences taught all that the sea was the most convenient kind of highway for an invader, and that an enemy must be beaten before he landed, not afterwards. Control of the Narrow Seas became the cardinal principle of British policy, and, as occasion demanded, this control had to be extended—first to the Mediterranean, and afterwards to the waters of the world, wherever British possessions, British trade or interests, or British subjects, required protection.

But control of the Narrow Seas could not be maintained by so small a people against a united Europe or Western Europe. Whenever, therefore, any one Power endeavoured to gather into its hands all the resources of Europe or Western Europe, both sympathy for the liberties of others, and a sense of national danger, impelled the English to oppose the would-be monopolist of power. The struggle was long and often fierce, and throughout it all British diplomacy played its great part. Various combinations were formed from time to time as occasion required, and one by one monopolistic forces were checked or destroyed, while the nations were preserved. There was gradually built up a doctrine known as the "Balance of Power," and, after the fall of Napoleon, it came to be recognized by the great Powers as the international law of Europe. This new principle of balance prohibits any one Power from obtaining political supremacy over a prostrate world, and recognizes the right of every great civilized race or nation to work out its destiny according to its own ideals and genius. On this principle the modern world has been built, and international stability maintained. During the last generation it has been represented on the Continent by the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy on the one side, and the Dual Alliance of France and Russia on the other; while Great Britain has stood outside with one naval arm in the Mediterranean and the other in the

North Sea, the arbiter of the European balance, and the umpire of the world.

Yet there are nations which do not willingly assent to the doctrine of Balance; only the world has grown larger than in the old days, and no one Power is in a position to assert universal sway. So certain Powers have sought to apply the principle rather to continents or hemispheres than to the whole world. Thus, since the consolidation of the German Empire, we have seen Germany encouraging Russia to take Asia for her share, and leave the former Power to work her will in Western and Southern Europe. Germany has deliberately adopted the policy of dominating the Latin nations, and this policy, if successful, would lead to the control of all Europe west of Russia, and to that of the Mediterranean Sea. In the end the German Colossus, astride of Europe and the British highway to the East, would be ready to hurl the weight of Western Europe against the British Isles. In Asia, Russia marched eastward, adding new dominions to her empire yearly, till she held most of western, central and northern Asia, and placed the Bear's paws on the very walls of China. Then she commenced to establish her great naval and military bases on the Pacific. Once dominant there, with Japan at her mercy, China would fall. When China was digested, it would be an easy matter for Russia, in possession of the resources of the entire continent north of the Himalayas, to drive the British out of India.

It is the business of statesmen to provide for the future, and Britain looked about for some means of maintaining the Balance of Power in Asia. Japan was the only efficient Power, besides England, which had vital interests at stake. At the time of the Boxer troubles Britain had recognized the efficiency of the Japanese troops, and she knew the mighty force of Japanese patriotism. She, therefore, entered into an alliance with Japan by which she agreed to keep off the European Powers and give Japan an opportunity to fight Russia alone and save herself from prospective destruction if she could. Japan was victorious, and the Russian advance was checked. Im-

mediately England entered into a new agreement with Japan, by which the two Powers jointly guaranteed the integrity of China. Thus the national liberties of the East have been preserved, and Great Britain has paid back to Asia the debt of Western Europe which had been owing since, five hundred years before, Tamerlane saved the West from the great Ottoman Turk. Though Germany raised the cry of the Yellow Peril and denounced Great Britain as a traitor to the white races, yet the other great nations of Europe and America having interests in Asia and the Pacific have one by one followed her diplomatic example and made agreements with Japan. Once more British diplomacy has triumphed, and the Pacific world now promises peaceful progress, international stability, and fair play to all.

As to modern Europe, when it lay bankrupt and bleeding at the feet of Napoleon, Great Britain gave the broken nations aid in soldiers and subsidies, sailors and ships, revived their spirit, and finally succeeded in restoring their national liberties. Before that she had given aid to Frederick the Great, and it is safe to say that no Prussian king would be emperor of a united Germany to-day had it not been for William Pitt. In more recent times Great Britain has prevented Russia from marching through Sweden and Norway to an open port on the Atlantic. It has been her policy to maintain these nations, and Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, from aggression on the part of Russia and Germany. Since the Franco-Prussian War she has three times, if not four, saved France from another overthrow at the hands of Germany. Portugal is her ancient ally, and owes her small strip of territory on the Atlantic coast to British support. Great Britain is now the supporting friend of all South Europe, while Russia is crippled, and is co-operating with the southern nations to maintain stability on the Mediterranean. She favours a confederation of Balkan States into a powerful nation that will be able to secure peace and safety there. She supports resolutely the new constitutional government in Turkey. She took hold of Egypt less than a generation ago when that

country was bankrupt financially, politically and morally, and in a state of anarchy, and has restored peace, order and prosperity there. Mummy-land is being modernized, and is now far the most prosperous country in the Levant. She has saved Persia and Afghanistan from the Russ. India had been the prey of different conquerors from time immemorial till Great Britain gave it order and justice and an opportunity to work out a great destiny if its people have the genius.

With regard to Africa, Great Britain controls the land entrance through Egypt, and by her navy every other gateway into that continent. If any other nation were in her position there would be an effort to create a monopoly of power, but Great Britain invites all the nations of Christendom having interests there to assist in the up-building of the African peoples. Instead of the two hundred years of war which distressed America, we see these nations under British leadership advancing, arm in arm, developing the resources of Africa, putting down slave-trading and other barbarous practices, and introducing law and order and Christian civilization. The Boer War was necessary to remove a system of government that was an anachronism and a stumbling-block to progress, and to-day the defeated Boers are loyal subjects, living under happier conditions than they ever knew under their late Republic, and collaborating with the other colonies in the organization of a united British South Africa. From what has been said it will be seen that every nation in the Eastern Hemisphere owes its political position and national liberties largely to Great Britain.

Now we turn to America, and we shall find that the Western Hemisphere has received still greater advantages. Spain acquired title by discovery. By the same right Portugal acquired the East. The Pope confirmed their titles, and divided the non-Christian world between them, giving Africa and the East to Portugal, and the Western Hemisphere to Spain. Then Spain took Portugal captive, and thus acquired title to both the East and the West. England had no need of colonies in those

days. When Henry VII. came to the throne the population was about 2,500,000, and not more than 5,000,000 at the death of Elizabeth; but as the great extent and vast resources of the New World became known, England realized that if it were allowed to remain the possession of one or more European Powers she would ultimately be crushed like an egg-shell between the hostile continents. In self-defence, therefore, she was obliged to combat monopoly in the Americas. France was, in a less degree, under similar stress, and the three nations came to be the chief competitors for American territory. England was willing to share with the others, but when France and Spain became well established in America, they entered into a secret treaty under which they were to divide the Western Hemisphere between them. One was in possession of the countries on the Gulf of Mexico, the other of the St. Lawrence Valley. France commenced to extend her forts through the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, with the view of surrounding the English Colonies on the Atlantic coast and crushing them or driving them into the sea. Spain, having a secret understanding with France, became suddenly aggressive, and under pretence of enforcing an old treaty that had long been neglected in practice, she seized British ships trading with Spanish countries in America, not only in Spanish waters, but upon the high seas. Many of these were Colonial vessels, and both Home and Colonial merchant traders cried aloud for protection. But England was hushed to sleep by Walpole, until prolonged clamour woke her up and forced the Government to go to war with Spain in 1739.

This war was not very glorious, for the army and navy had been neglected, and England was ill prepared. But the spirit of the people was aroused. They swept Walpole and his un-English policy away, finally put Pitt in the saddle, and in about twenty years finished the fight for Northern America and India, and placed their country at a height of power never attained before. France was not only beaten out of North America, but was humiliated by the terms of the treaty of peace. Resentment

entered into the hearts of her people, and the spirit of revenge rose to a national passion. It found its embodiment in Beaumarchais, whom the people of the United States scarcely ever mention, but who did more to help that country achieve independence than any other non-military man. With French and Spanish money he supplied the Americans with 30,000 rifles and over 200 cannon during the early part of the struggle. He sent them vast stores of tents, provisions and equipment of all kinds, while his French military lieutenants were organizing the Colonial army. Without his aid Colonial resistance would have broken down in the first two years of the war, before France openly espoused the Colonial cause. Then Spain followed the lead of France; Holland became a belligerent; the other Powers organized the "Armed Neutrality," and England stood alone against the world. It was a European war, and France had her revenge in the independence of the United States just twenty years after the cession of Canada to Great Britain.

Diplomacy at this point entered a new phase in America, for the boundaries of the new republic had to be defined. The Americans demanded the cession of Canada, but England refused to desert the Canadians and Loyalists who had stood by her in her hour of trouble, and refused to make the cession. The Americans then claimed that their northern boundary should shoot off from the St. Lawrence at the point where it is cut by the forty-fifth parallel of north latitude—not far from Cornwall—in a straight line to the south end of Lake Nipissing. This would have given control of the Great Lakes and the richest part of Ontario to the United States, and made a transcontinental British North American dominion impossible. Being vital, it also was refused But the great question was, How much could England hold? The Americans had warned the Mother Country that there could be no lasting peace unless all Canada was ceded. In the face of this threat the question was most urgent, How much could England hold? She had, say, 70,000 French-Canadian subjects, and a few thousand

poverty-stricken Loyalists. The population of the new republic was 3,000,000, most of them energetic colonizers sprung from the greatest of colonizing Powers. The odds were enormous, and the continent was empty. Great Britain remembered the fate of France, that had been ruined in America by the lure of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys, and by the attempt to hold them with Canada as a base. She knew that she was much less favourably placed than France had been. The mouth of the Mississippi was in hostile hands. Hundreds of miles of wilderness lay between settled Canada and the Ohio country. The waterways were choked by the rapids of the St. Lawrence and by the falls of Niagara. England was 4,000 miles distant. The Americans lay between, and they had fought for this great interior—it was one of the causes of the war. England might as well have tried to dam Niagara as hold the Americans back from this empty and, to her, inaccessible wilderness. How much can I hold, said she, for my handful of Canadians and Loyalists? She was confronted by the possible and the impossible, and finally decided to take advantage of the Great Lakes and the waterways as natural barriers and try to hold the country on the north. By this arrangement she provided for the inevitable expansion of the United States, and made sure that it should be westward and not northward.

At the same time she did full justice to her handful of Canadians, for she reserved for their future use a hinterland several times larger than the entire United States, which then extended only to the Mississippi. The arrangement satisfied the national needs of the United States, but not their ambition, and we found these natural barriers our salvation in the war of 1812-14. When Napoleon came upon the world's stage and France had taken back from Spain the Louisiana territory, he sought to establish a great Napoleonic empire in America. But Nelson beat him off the Atlantic, and to save Louisiana from the British he sold it to the United States. This doubled their territory and quadrupled their ambition. The boundary had soon to be drawn westward to the

Rocky Mountains, but on what basis was it to be fixed? In 1783 neither Government had known where the source of the Mississippi was, and they had guessed at it, only to find later on that they were far astray. This may be fortunate for us, for if it had been as far north as was supposed it is not unlikely that the line would have been drawn straight west from it. As it was, there was room for compromise and a fair partition. The British north was empty, and British population in its westward march could never keep pace with that of the United States on the south; yet England looked to the future and proposed the 49th parallel. She said to Uncle Sam, "I will divide fair. You take the south; I will keep the north." It was so settled, and again full justice was done to her British subjects, for they had reserved for them a far greater West than that of the United States, which did not then include their great South West, subsequently acquired.

But the Oregon country was left open for future agreement. The United States claimed all west of the Rocky Mountains from the 42nd degree of north latitude to 54 degrees 40 minutes—the southern boundary of Alaska. Into it they sent an expedition and settlers, not because their territory was full or overflowing with inhabitants, but for the political purpose of strengthening their claim by possession, and holding it if necessary by force on the spot. In the '40's the controversy became acute, and it had to be settled. Again Great Britain said, "I will divide fairly by extending Line 49 to the western coast." But this time the United States flatly refused. The spirit of war was aroused, and the country rang with the cry, "54-40 or fight." But John Bull knew his map. The question was not that of a crooked boundary fence-post or of a barren rock on the Alaskan shore. It was that of a Pacific frontier to a transcontinental dominion. That dominion might then be unformed and empty, but Mr. Bull has foresight and political perspective. No one knows better than John what is worth fighting for, though he has more sense than to exhaust his resources in fighting for trifles. The Pacific frontier was

no trifle, and he said: "No; Line 49 is my best proposition." In the end the 49th line was fixed upon as far as the coast, and then the boundary was deflected southward below Vancouver Island, and it is entirely due to firm British statesmanship and diplomacy that Canada has now her splendid Pacific Province and Pacific frontier.

In the same decade the United States made unjust war upon Mexico and robbed her of 850,000 square miles, including California, Texas, and several other states. Mexico had no powerful Mother Country at her back. That is the difference.

Now turn to the far north-west. About 1670, if I remember correctly, the Hudson's Bay Company charter was issued, giving it the trading rights in the country tributary to Hudson's Bay and to the waterways that flow into it. The grant was indefinite, but by no stretch of imagination could it be claimed that it gave title to the Yukon River basin, which was beyond the Rocky Mountains. Along came Mackenzie and traced the river that now bears his name to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean, thus establishing in Great Britain the title to the Mackenzie River basin. Russia was in possession of Alaska. Who, then, owned the Yukon? It used to be the rule that the nation which discovered the mouth of a river in an open continent had a sufficient claim to the whole river valley. On this principle France had been able to claim the Mississippi and St. Lawrence valleys. Then England set up as a counterclaim that the nation that owned the coast owned the hinterland. Under this rule, as possessor of the Atlantic coast, England claimed the interior beyond the Alleghany Mountains. But in the case of Alaska, Russia had title by both rules, for she held both the mouth of the Yukon and the entire coast. By all principles of international law Russia, therefore, was entitled to the whole Yukon valley or river basin. The range of mountains that divides the Yukon and Mackenzie valleys was the legal, as well as the natural, boundary between British and Russian territory, but in 1825 British diplomacy outmatched Russian, and secured a treaty

defining the boundary quite differently. Instead of taking the natural divide between the Mackenzie and Yukon valleys, the line is defined from the south, running northerly from a point on the Pacific coast a short distance, and then turning north-westerly and running across 11 degrees of longitude to the 141st meridian, and then north to the Arctic. This gave to Great Britain the upper portion of the Yukon Valley, out of which we have recently taken over $100,000,000 in gold and organized our "Yukon Empire." How did it happen? The Russian diplomatists had one central thought, and that was control of the coast. They wanted it placed out of Great Britain's power to interfere with Russian fishing or trading establishments on the coast or on the adjacent islands. The British diplomatists gratified them with this shell of the Yukon nut in order that Great Britain might get the rich meat of the interior. So the agreement was made, and Russia was conceded a title to a strip along the entire coast to which she had a just claim, while Great Britain was given a title to a large tract of the interior to which her claim was very weak indeed. There was no misunderstanding, however, about the meaning of the treaty. It conceded to Russia control of the coasts, heads of inlets, and all, only giving certain rights of passage to Great Britain. Russian and British maps both showed this intention, and the United States maps followed the others; but when Canada came to have an interest, and particularly after the great gold discoveries in the Yukon, she sought to place a technical construction upon certain words of the treaty and give it a meaning no one else had thought of, because she wanted a port of entry into the Yukon country.

Now British diplomacy had done its work with regard to Alaska in 1825. What remained was merely to find the meaning of the treaty about which there was a question raised by Canada. This was properly the work of a judicial tribunal. When the parties could not agree, arbitration was decided upon. The arbitrators on the British or Canadian side were named and approved by

the Canadian Government. The British Government does not claim the credit for the excellent appointments made, nor had it or British diplomacy any responsibility for the result. When the whole evidence was laid before the arbitrators it was found that on the merits the decision must be against Canada on the matter of chief importance, namely, the control of the heads of inlets, and, therefore, of a port of entry into the British Yukon. The decision in some other minor respects was a compromise between the doubtful contentions of the litigants. This is often the case even in the administration of ordinary justice when a court is composed of more than one judge, or where there is a jury. It is always the duty of courts and juries when they can agree on the main issue, to find a solution of their difficulties, if any exist, on matters of little moment. When judges or juries agree about matters of importance it would be a farce if they split on trifles. I only mention these ordinary court practices because you are familiar with them. An international tribunal of arbitration is a judicial body of higher responsibility. It is appointed after diplomacy has exhausted its resources and failed, and from it there is no appeal. It is not merely the court of last resort; it is the last resource of civilization to maintain peace.

A disputed boundary is one of the most dangerous of international disputes. The attempt to arrest a prisoner or perform any one of a hundred common acts may bring the police or local officials or citizens of the two nations into collision. Blood may be shed before the government of either country is aware of it, and when once blood starts to flow it is hard to stop. More than once in the past Canadian and United States troops have confronted each other on our frontiers on account of acts performed on disputed territory, the boundaries being unsettled. In the Alaska case, the main issue having been decided against us on the merits and some of the minor issues solved in the spirit of compromise, there came the final question of the possession of four islands. The United States claimed that the line should run south

of them, giving them to Alaska. Canada claimed that it should run north of them, and that they belonged to her. On this issue the arbitrators were at first equally divided, and a deadlock was threatened; but, finally, the United States commissioners offered a compromise, giving the two large islands next to the continent to Canada, and the two small ones farther out to the United States. These were but barren rocks, not worth the powder that would set one gun off, and the title to them was doubtful. It was clearly, therefore, a case in which refusal to accept the proposal of the United States, rather than leave the whole boundary dispute unsettled, would have been an act of criminal folly unparalleled in modern international relations. Yet when Lord Alverstone agreed to this settlement a shout of indignation went up from Canada that echoed throughout the civilized world. Surely our people must have misunderstood. I hope they will yet do justice to Lord Alverstone. History surely will.

Now, my time is so nearly exhausted that I shall only mention the dispute about the north boundary of Maine, which was settled by the Ashburton Treaty in 1842, before I make a few final remarks upon the Monroe Doctrine. I can the more readily pass lightly over the Maine boundary because I discussed it in the *Canadian Courier* in the issue of September 12th last (1908). To that article I must refer you for particulars, only mentioning here the conclusion which I arrived at there, namely, that the result of all the diplomatic negotiations between Great Britain and the United States, ending with the Ashburton Treaty, respecting the boundary in question, was that Canada got 5,000 square miles of territory to which she had no title. The "huge wedge" mentioned in our school books, which divides the Province of New Brunswick from the Province of Quebec, is not the result of any blunder on the part of Lord Ashburton. That wedge was driven northward by the British when the south was British and Canada was French. In the middle of the eighteenth century the British claimed that their territory extended all the way

from Florida to the banks of the St. Lawrence. The French disputed this extreme claim at the north. Then Great Britain conquered Canada, and the question ceased to be international and became intercolonial or interprovincial. When Great Britain set up her new Government at Quebec after the conquest, she necessarily defined its jurisdiction, and the boundary was then fixed along the northern highlands that separate the valleys of the St. Lawrence and St. John, running westward from Chaleurs Bay. That boundary, then settled, continued till the American Revolution swept all south of it out of the Empire. It was, therefore, British diplomacy, culminating in the Ashburton Treaty, that pushed the boundary southward to the St. John River and gave us the intervening 5,000 square miles referred to.

The Monroe Doctrine is neither American in origin nor in principle, and accords with British policy in other parts of the world. The French Revolution gave an impulse to liberty throughout Europe, and after the fall of Napoleon the crowned heads of Austria, Prussia, France and Russia formed what has been known as the Holy Alliance; for it was an attempt to regulate the government of the world in accordance with the doctrines and practices of the Christian religion as these autocratic sovereigns understood them. As time passed, the chief objects of the Alliance were revealed to be the maintenance of monarchial institutions in their absolutist form, the quelling of all democratic uprisings, and the protection of their own dynastic interests. The revolutions in Naples and Piedmont were put down, and absolute monarchy was restored in Spain with the aid of a French army 100,000 strong. Great Britain was no party to the Alliance, and, though a monarchy, had no sympathy with absolutism. She demurred to the proceedings of the Alliance, and then protested; but when she found that the allies, or some of them, planned to interfere on the side of Spain and re-subjugate the revolted Spanish countries in America, she began to act more resolutely.

Her first step was to lay the whole matter before the

United States of America and invite their co-operation. This was the work of George Canning, who had been appointed Foreign Secretary in 1822. He believed that if Great Britain and the United States would come to an agreement and jointly announce their opposition to the project, it would be abandoned without war. Mr. Canning, therefore, began negotiations with Mr. Rush, the American Minister at London. "I am persuaded," said he, "there has seldom in the history of the world occurred an opportunity when so small an effort of two friendly governments might produce so unequivocal a good and prevent such extensive calamities." But Mr. Rush had no authority to enter into an agreement, and all he could do was to report to Washington, and send over the correspondence that had passed between himself and Mr. Canning, and await instructions. But communication was slow in those days, and the President of the United States was some time consulting with his leading statesmen. So many weeks passed without any reply. In the meantime the continental plan became so far advanced that Canning decided not to wait for American co-operation, and on the responsibility of Great Britain alone he gave notice that she would oppose the expedition with all her force. Trafalgar was still fresh in the mind of Europe, and the whole project was at once abandoned.

Thus was Europe prevented from imposing despotic government upon any American country, or transferring thither its military establishments. Thus were all the nations then existing in the Western Hemisphere preserved from European aggression. This *is* the Monroe Doctrine practically exemplified, and it was in effective operation while the Washington statesmen were still considering its adoption. When finally they had made up their minds there was nothing practical left for them to do except to make a declaration. They, therefore, formulated a policy of "Hands off America," and President Monroe set it forth in a message to Congress. It was received with enthusiasm, christened after Monroe, and

remains to-day the kernel of the foreign policy of the United States. One of Jefferson's letters to the President fully acknowledges British leadership. He said that while Europe was labouring to be the domicile of despotism, "our endeavours should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. . . . One nation most of all could disturb us in this pursuit. She now offers *to lead, aid and accompany us in it.* By acceding *to her proposition* we detach her from the bonds, bring her mighty weight into the scales of free government, and emancipate a continent at a stroke, which might otherwise linger along in doubt and difficulty."

At the time of Monroe's message (1823) the United States had not yet rounded out its territory, nor grown to a position of great power, and without British support no such defiance of Europe could have then been thought of. The objects of the policy were partly common to both nations, but some were purely British. Both were opposed to despotic power and desired none but free nations in America. Both had immense territories in North America, unsettled or sparsely settled, that would be endangered if European military establishments were placed on their borders. But Great Britain had separate interests. She had fallen heir to Spain's South and Central American trade, which she desired to retain and knew that she would lose if these Spanish-American countries fell under the control of European powers; for their trade policy was to exclude foreigners from their possessions. And, further, Great Britain knew that European military encampments on the borders of the United States would compel that country, in self-defence, to maintain a great army of its own, and this would be as dangerous to British possessions, if not more so, as the European armies. Her policy was, therefore, to make it wholly unnecessary for the United States to become a strong military power.

All objects have been completely fulfilled. Every nation is free in both the North and the South; the territories of both Great Britain and the United States

have been free from attack by any non-American power; Great Britain still retains the trade, and militarism in this hemisphere was scotched in its infancy. Great Britain has consistently adhered to the Monroe Doctrine, and every British statesman endorses it to-day. Canning's splendid policy has been justified by results. The co-operation of the two nations has produced, as he foresaw, unequivocal good, and prevented extensive calamities. At first the burden was all on our Mother Country, but as the United States has grown to power, Great Britain has encouraged them to assume more and more of the responsibilities. Yet to this day the United States has never been in a position to enforce the doctrine against Europe, and but for Great Britain we should long ago have seen different nations fighting for South America as they long did for North America.

Now, we have taken scarcely a bird's-eye view of the political world, yet we have surely seen that Great Britain has been, as the British Empire is to-day, the greatest secular force for good that ever existed in the history of the world. In her diplomacy abroad, as in her system of Government at home, she has opposed tyranny, befriended freedom, and lighted the paths of progress. Under her international leadership, since the fall of Napoleon and the establishment of the doctrine of "Balance of Power," there has been no general war, though such wars were common before, and the world and every human interest have advanced more in 100 years than in any 1,000 years of previous history.

As to Canada, Great Britain conquered it 150 years ago, at great cost of blood and treasure, and has made it a free gift to us, with all its revenues, for all time to come. Gradually she has extended its borders, fenced it about, held it for us, though empty, against all the land-hungry nations of the world, and guarded every vital interest. In 125 years since the Treaty of 1783 we have had 122 years of peace, and to-day we find ourselves in possession of one of the greatest countries ever possessed by a people, with two wide ocean fron-

tiers, the greatest inland waterways in the world, a transcontinental chain of organized provinces, and no one thing lacking requisite for our national greatness. History shows no parallel. It could not have been accomplished by any but the Mistress of the Sea, and only by her through broad statesmanship, splendid foresight, and skilful diplomacy unsurpassed in any age or in any part of the world.

PRESENT CONDITIONS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS IN INDIA.

Address by PROFESSOR G. S. BRETT, M.A., of Trinity University Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on November 26th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The subject upon which I am to speak to-day is an extraordinarily large one, and, as you are well aware, extraordinarily complicated. I have spent in India four and a half years. During that time I was not engaged in any occupation which would directly bring me into touch with political factors or with administration. But I think it is extremely probable that those who are not immediately engaged in the government of the country have opportunities of understanding some of the forces that work in the country better, perhaps, than those who are immediately engaged in it. The spirit of the Indian people is such that it is almost impossible for an official to discover what are their real opinions. They will, however, talk freely to others who they think are in sympathy with them and who are not likely to make use of that information in any direct official way.

I will first try to explain what is the general condition of the country in respect of the forces which make either for progress or the opposite, and which, at any rate, exist in the country more or less permanently. It will be necessary to a certain extent to bring out points which, I think, are rarely, if ever, noticed in the ordinary reports of events in India, and particularly to throw emphasis on certain sides of life and character which strongly affect the situation, but are as a rule ignored in journalistic circles and newspaper reports.

In the first place, we hear a great deal about race-hatred, and I think there is a strong tendency to suppose that you can roughly divide the country into the

British and the rest. We hear of the small handful of British who hold this country without sufficient appreciation of the power which, after all, backs them up. If we had to deal with the question of India from the point of view of ethnology, we should find it an extremely complex subject. If we take it from the political point of view, it is much less complex. A very large majority of the actual living beings in India count absolutely for nothing as political factors; and, roughly speaking, for the purposes of our present analysis, I should say that we could not do better than regard the situation as practically a division of Hindus versus the rest.

Let me explain in what sense I say that. I lived in India during the year 1906, which has been, of the last ten years, undoubtedly the climax of sedition and of unrest. Since then the country has steadily gone back from that extreme. In that year, in April and May, there arose definitely in India the idea that it would be possible to have an "India for the Indians," and this became a popular watchword for a time, eagerly taken up, with no very great understanding of its significance. Before very long, however, a sudden and complete revulsion of feeling came, because it was discovered that, politically, India for the Indians meant India for the Hindus. The Mohammedans, who had thrown their caps in the air at first, immediately began to change their tactics and to be, if anything, rather overanxious to protest their loyalty to the British Empire.

There is a large amount of racial division in India and of what I may call blood-feeling, but this antagonism is just as strong between certain factors among the Indians themselves as it is between the Indians and the British. We have at present nothing like a prospect of uniting the Hindus, especially the old class, with other races which are just as much foreign elements as ourselves. The result is that on the British side we can definitely rank all those who have arrived in India by conquest or by immigration. The Mohammedans cannot be relied upon to back the schemes of the Hindus; neither can the Parsees. If you divide up the really valuable factors in

the situation, ignoring all this talk about millions and millions (as if it had any significance), you will find that, so far as interests are concerned in the country, British rule has very much more behind it than the mere number of British people in the country, or even the British forces at its disposal.

The second aspect of this question is that any division of the country according to races is really only partial, and must be supplemented by the division of the country according to interests. And you have many distinct interests in that country, but there is one of paramount importance, namely, the trade interest. The whole tendency of progress in India is undoubtedly towards a development of its own internal resources and trade. In spite of the nationality to which a person may belong, he may have interests based upon trade which overrule his natural propensities in the way of blood and birth. I could illustrate that in many cases by citing examples of the great Swadeshi movement. The word means "one's own country;" it implies the principle that all products sold in the country should also be produced in the country. This trade interest gives us as a British nation a very strong hold over what is already and will be in the future still more, an extremely influential part of the population. It throws upon our side in any particular crisis the conservative element, which naturally wants to avoid anything even analogous to the great events of 1857. So that these two points must be kept in mind: First of all, that the division of the country is not such a simple thing as between the British and non-British; and secondly, all racial distinctions can be obliterated by other interests.

The Indian temperament is unstable, much more so than you can imagine. They are sensitive to a degree which it is almost impossible for you to appreciate and impossible for the average Englishman to estimate when he first goes out there. There was a young professor in one College, who, becoming extremely annoyed with one of the classes, denounced its members as geese. To call a man a goose here would be looked upon as very mild

abuse, but it was not taken in that sense. The whole class seceded and left the College; the matter was taken up in the local papers, and it was proclaimed abroad as one of the greatest insults the British Empire had put upon the Indian nation. It is difficult to get an understanding of the degree to which an Indian is sensitive, because he can conceal his feelings entirely. I remember one British official talking to a native whom he had greatly offended; he thought he was mollifying him; when, in reality, the native was, internally if not externally, white with passion. Such expressions of feeling they can entirely conceal, so that it is difficult to estimate the effect of your words upon them. The Indian is politeness carried to an extreme, and this characteristic is not to be regarded as unimportant by any means. You know that however good a plan may be, very often a large percentage of the success which it attains is due to the tact with which it is managed. If that is the case here, where you can give a man credit for being honest, even if he appears rude and bluff, it is so to a much greater degree in India, where they value smoothness and urbanity of manner quite as much as good results.

The average individual who is projected into India to manage that country is a young civilian out of one of our universities. I think we strike there the truly important point, and one which has not been sufficiently attended to, namely, the question whether we supply the right material for the administration of that country. We choose men along the line of intellectual achievement rather than men who have tact and some rudimentary ideas of governing the provinces of which they are to have charge. We have absolutely no guarantee that the man we send out is fit for the position. It is one of the standing paradoxes of India that the method has produced so many great administrators, considering the way in which the strictness of the official system practically prevents any one man from being passed over, no matter what his capacities may be. Promotion is regulated strictly according to seniority.

On the British side you have the Civil Service, the

Military Service, and the rest—the rest including traders, planters and stray individuals who may turn up from time to time. The military, as a rule, have very little touch with the natives. The remainder are certainly in many cases not our best representatives. They have a thorough dislike for the people among whom they live; they are taken very often as representatives of British methods, which are also largely exemplified by the individual known as "Tommy Atkins," and they certainly tend to produce very great irritation. A civil servant is representative of another factor in British treatment of India which is also far from receiving proper attention. He represents the British ideal, and the British ideal of efficiency is not only opposed to that of the Indian, but is one which he is incapable of properly estimating. The civil servant sets himself to work out a plan. He is assured that he is attaining the good of the country, certain of the honesty and righteousness of his own methods, but he does not consider the extent to which the individual with whom he is working values merely sympathy and attention to the trifles and details of politeness. Even in working out his own policy the civil servant is apt to become to the native obviously self-righteous; and, not only that, he is apt to override, in attaining what are merely material gains, those which the Indian would rank as spiritual. This may seem to you rather trifling, but the point of view which one gets from living in India is such as to make one appreciate those elements.

An intelligent Hindu came to me one day and said he was a student of English politics. He said he was sorry to know that England was in such a state of unrest and revolt. He had been reading about the suffragette movement. Very often a casual newspaper report gives you just about as much sense of the proportion of things in India as that youth derived from his reading of the English papers. Departing from these points, there is an entirely different aspect of this question, and one which you will doubtless consider the most important—the question of sedition. That, again, is very often looked upon—and I am sorry to say it is certainly looked upon by the

officials in India itself—as a matter of education. But that is not so. The sedition is not necessarily in any sense territorial. It is not an expansion of anything. But, on the other hand, it is an intention. It is measured by the extent to which the individuals, who in India have always historically counted for nothing, are beginning to be valued for themselves, and that increases the forces of the nation and even its numerical value. This sedition is based undoubtedly upon education, but it is not by any means a thing which we can put down as the fault of education. We cannot say if there were no education there would be no sedition. Although we are responsible for the education which has begun in that country, it was begun with a definite political policy and the knowledge that it meant greater value to Britain itself in that country. It rapidly got entirely out of hand so far as the British Government was concerned; and you have only to study the history of education in India to find that the country very soon got hold of its own education; that it realized that it must give it a Western turn, and then held out, in spite of the action of the Government to the contrary. When the Government tried to stop entirely the great progress being made in the learning of English, the only result was that the students left the colleges and went to private institutions; and if we again tried to divert the channel of education it would be immediately restored by going to Japanese colleges and institutions instead of those of the West. We are incapable of controlling that, and I doubt if we really want to. Education is itself one of the greatest factors in quelling sedition.

We want to know exactly what it is that produces these appearances of sedition in India, because you must remember that what we hear of that away from India is not by any means the most important element, but the noisiest. I have spoken of the trading interest; and there is another—the native official interest. The native officials feel that they might rise higher in the way of the administration or judicial offices if they had not the British in their way. They have the money and they

have the brains, and they have, also, to an extent which is not possible in any other class, a lack of scruple in their methods. Their stake in the country is a matter of stipends, and they feel that the British are in their way. That class, consisting chiefly of the legal element, are interested in sedition, and they find their readiest instrument in the masses of the people who are ignorant. Much of the active sedition in the north of India was aroused by the secret emissaries sent round to explain to the people that the plague from which they were dying was due really to the poisoning of the wells by the British. And that fired the whole of North India as nothing else could have done. It is that sort of thing which education will steadily tend to eliminate. As the mass of the people acquire their education, become better able to judge, they will be able to judge not only the British Government, but also those in their own country who are at present capable of thus exploiting them for their own means.

While I would defend the character of the average Indian in many cases, you have to admit that he has not been trained or raised to the height at which he can comprehend the value of abstract principles. He looks at things from his own point of view, and he considers that the end justifies the means. Education will tend steadily to strengthen the moderate party, and this does not mean retrogression in any sense, but that it will enable us to avoid the catastrophe which might be taken to threaten us at present. It is certain that every day that we can keep away from any actual explosion of an extensive sort is a day that makes it less and less possible for that explosion ever to take place. On the other hand, of course, education is furnishing new problems. Education is enlarging the country in the sense of making its separate individuals more and more valuable, intensively increasing the value of the country; and it is doing that by raising up every day more and more individuals who are capable of holding the highest and most important offices in the country. As those numbers increase it is only natural that the cry should

arise, "Let us have all posts for ourselves, and let us occupy them." And I do not think that anybody whose opinions are not warped would wish to deny that the claim is perfectly just. Neither can we deny that it is a perfectly just claim for India to want to hold more of her own property and her own trading. While there are individuals who seem to think we should use violent means to stop this progress, those who look at the matter from the standpoint of the statesman must see that it is a perfectly just claim. The crisis comes in judging the extent to which it is possible to satisfy that claim. We shall be able to satisfy it in one direction and not in another.

It is impossible for the British Government at the present time to give up its administrative superiority simply for the sake of the Indian. Take the Civil Service. It is open to a native who can qualify, yet he cannot occupy a civil post as an Englishman can occupy it. He must be on one side or the other, and if he is on neither he is looked upon as a hypocrite by both parties. It is impossible for such administrative power to be vested in Indians born and bred. On the other hand, there is a large sphere of development possible in local and municipal administration which would afford positions for many natives. I think for the present the outlet of that claim for administrative power will come in the direction of widening the bases, so to speak, rather than trying to take separate individuals up into the higher ranks.

The further question remains as to what we can do with the higher ranks, and there, again, the whole trend of the country points to an enlargement of that body which rules the country. That is rather a different thing from the Indians' clamour for either an Indian parliament or representation. The representation might come very easily if we knew what to represent them in. It would be a great mistake at present to attempt to create an Indian parliament On the other hand, I do think it is possible for them to be more dependent on themselves and less dependent on Britain, not merely in

the way of reducing our superiority in numbers in the administrative section, but rather in decentralizing the work from London to Calcutta. We could then elect into the Government a larger number of Indian representatives than is possible in a Viceroy's Council at present. That process of establishing the Government of India, not in the sense of breaking away from Britain, but rather of localizing power and giving the people a part in the solution of its problems, would be an advantage.

There is one great factor in this question, and one which I would like to mention, and that is that throughout India I am quite certain there is a tone which is not the tone which precedes great catastrophes. There is nobody in India who flatters himself that if he could once get at the British Government he would discover anything behind it which the British Government desires to hide. There is no system recognized by the Indians as more upright and straightforward than the British Government. They do not feel that it is a case of breaking down some secret opposition. They feel if they could arise and break the British Government they would have done nothing but break themselves and destroy their own Government. The best people in India are doing all they can to hold together the country so that it will be possible for the British Government to make reform its own purpose, go about it in an orderly way and ultimately achieve a self-government for the people, which will have to come slowly if it is to be permanent.

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN TURKEY.

Address by the Rev. Dr. Sydney H. Gould, of Constantinople, before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 3rd, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am going to speak on the Turkish problem. There is nothing which reveals the strength and the power of our Empire to-day more than the fact that no problem can occur in this world in which the British Empire is not directly interested. And more particularly is it so in that old historic field of military and diplomatic conflict—the Levant, the Turkish Empire. Eleven years ago I was on my way to Palestine, and as a medical man it was necessary that I should go to Constantinople and take the diploma of the Imperial Faculty of Medicine. I saw on the walls of the streets in that city the marks of bullets where hundreds of Armenians had been driven into the Golden Horn. Within the past two or three months I have seen great crowds of Mohammedans, and Christians, and Jews, surging through the streets of the chief cities in the Turkish Empire crying out: "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."

I left Jerusalem last March. There were two buildings in that city where during centuries for a Jew to be seen meant death. One was the great temple of Solomon. To-day we find that a Jew is one of the members elected to the Turkish Parliament—a Jew, a Mohammedan, and a Christian. We have to account for that great change. Ten years ago the Armenian massacres — only last spring intense racial and religious hatred between the different stratas of population—to-day we see the Reform Party in power and these two elements in the population all banded together with one cry upon their lips, and that cry "Union and Progress;" union of all the various elements of which the Turkish Empire is and has been composed; and progress for that decrepit Empire which many decades ago was first described as "the sick man of Europe."

It is my privilege to-day to try and disentangle the operative causes which have brought about these changes. As we look at them we find they fall into two classes—on the one side, there are the constructive causes, which, operating from within or without, have tended to strengthen and reinforce and build up the influences leading toward reform. That is one of the classes. On the other side we have the contrary—the disruptive or destructive causes, and, under this head, I would include those influences which, issuing from the old *régime,* from the abuses of the old *régime,* were reflected back upon it, disintegrated it, and finally brought about its destruction. What are the constructive causes which were mainly concerned in the great revolution, the so-called bloodless revolution, in Turkey? I would beg to protest against the use of that word which we see so frequently in the newspapers—the "bloodless" revolution of Turkey. There has probably been as much bloodshed in connection with that revolution as in any revolution in the pages of history. And the first of the operative causes was undoubtedly the influence and the vitality and the power of the Reform Party—the Young Turkish Party. And the sources of this party, the origin of Turkish freedom, may be traced back to that great Britisher, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who at the time of the Crimean War was British Ambassador at Constantinople. I know, also, what the Young Turks have endured—imprisonment, drownings by night, exile. We are bound to ascribe to those men to-day a large measure and meed of admiration, not only for the fertility of their resources, but for the strength of their convictions.

I would put in the second place the educational work of Christian missions. There are few people in the West to-day who realize that, for the last half-century at least, practically the whole educational work in the Turkish Empire has been in the hands of Christian missionaries. We on the east side of the Jordan have a day school, and two or three years ago the Turkish Government endeavoured to interfere with it. We met

them on this ground—"We were here before you were." It was established in 1855. The Turkish Government came in fifty-five years ago. In the third place, England's work in Egypt reflects the influence of that wonderful work which England has done, and is doing to-day. There are grievous flaws in that work, for which England will very soon have to pay the cost in the spread of a movement of unrest similar to that in India at the present moment; but we cannot, in endeavouring to sum up the position of affairs in the Turkish Empire, do anything else but ascribe a very large share in that movement to the influence of the men—the noble men, the self-denying men—who have laboured from year to year to reconstruct that ancient land of Egypt, who have turned that country into one of the most prosperous to-day on the shores of the Mediterranean, a country which is now the model of all the countries in the Levant.

In the fourth place, I should put the building of railways. I read an article a little while ago in the *Outlook,* in which the writer made this remark: "You cannot build a railroad without creating an influence," and I think that remark applies with particular force to Turkey, and with special force to two railways. The first is that great railway of Bagdad, which, crossing Asia Minor, is to descend into the Valley of Messopotamia, and reach the Persian Gulf. The strategic end of that railway is quite clear; its commercial end is also equally evident. There was along with it this creative influence of which I have spoken. It was an influence not intended by the promoters of that railway, which was originally backed by German funds; but the building of that railway has probably done more than any other one thing to overthrow German predominance in the councils at Constantinople, because the action taken in building it was the visible influence of the political power of Germany at the headquarters in Constantinople. And I may speak freely—I am speaking without any maliciousness whatsoever—when I say the influence of Germany in Constantinople has always been viewed with the greatest suspicion and with very intense hatred.

The second railway commences at Mount Carmel, and goes up to Damascus and right down east to the River Jordan. It is a wonderful railway, because it is the only railway which has no capitalized fund. It is built entirely by subscriptions of the faithful Mohammedans throughout the world. It was opened as far down as Medina, the sacred city, where Mohammed's tomb is, on the first of last September. I read an account of the speeches, published in *The Times*. One of them was delivered by the Nationalist leader in Egypt, who gave utterance to this remark: "I thank the Prophet that he has not permitted this railway to reach the place of his burial before the proclamation of the constitution in Constantinople." The people realized, I think, throughout the building of that railway that it was impossible further to stem the tide of Western influence, of Western liberalizing thought, of Western progress; though they recognized at the same time that many of these were in deadly opposition to the fundamentals of their own religions.

We pass from the constructive to the disruptive, those causes which, issuing from the abuses, as I have said, of the old *régime,* were reflected back upon it, and largely brought about its overthrow. And the first is the position of Christians before the law. The Mohammedans divide the whole world into two great houses. There is the House of Islam on the one hand, and on the other the House of War, and all Mohammedan countries are included in the House of Islam. All non-Mohammedan countries are included in the House of War. That is the fundamental thing which marks off the whole Mohammedan world to-day from contact with the rest of the world. There is no equality before the law between a Christian and a Moslem subject of the Turkish Empire. A year ago a man was brought into my hospital, a Christian, with the lower part of his leg shot to pieces. It was well known who did it—a Christian member of the same clan—but the friends of the man who had done it went to a local Mohammedan and got him to

go before the judge and swear that it was not this man who did it, but the wounded man's own son, and the mere fact that he swore to that effect counted for more than all the oaths of the Christians. The consequence was that the wounded man was in my hospital with his leg shot to pieces and his own son was thrust into prison for having done the deed.

In the second place, there is the mal-administration of justice. The chief judges in the Turkish Empire of the past could only be appointed for three years. They could not be re-appointed to the same position in the Provinces; neither could they be transferred from one position to another in the Provinces. At the end of three years they were compelled to return to Constantinople and literally purchase another position; so you see they had to line their pockets pretty thoroughly during the three years. A native told me this story, and the stories of natives reflect the conditions of a country better than any other feature we can lay our hands upon. He said a man who was very well off was going down the street one day and met one of his friends, also a man in a former position of wealth. He was clothed in rags. "Hello! what has happened to you?" "Oh!" he said, "I had a suit before the judge, and I lost it." The man met another of his friends, formerly in a good position, and he said, "What is the matter with you?" for this man was almost naked. He said: "Oh! I was the other party to that suit, and I won it, and this is the result." About two years ago a man in a village in Galilee borrowed another man's horse to go on a journey, and he over-rode it, or from some other cause the horse died. The owner sued the man. They went before the judge, and the outcome was this: The man who had borrowed the horse and lost it paid the judge 15 napoleons. The man who had loaned the horse and lost it paid the judge 20 napoleons. One man sued another for some wheat that had been destroyed, saying that the goats of this man had invaded his land and eaten the wheat. The defendant in the case brought witnesses to prove that he could not possibly be the

responsible party, because, he said, "I have not got any goats at the present time, and I have not possessed them for some years." The end of the case as far as that man was concerned was this—he was fined for not keeping goats. Now, gentlemen, it may seem absurd, but these are facts—simple facts—in the administration, or rather the mal-administration of justice, or the administration of injustice, in the Turkish Empire.

And then we had the chronic and nascent rebellions which have distinguished that Empire throughout the past decade or two. We have heard about Macedonia and Armenia, but very few of us have heard about the greater troubles in a Province of Arabia. About three years ago I met a military attachè from the Embassy at Constantinople, and he told me that in one rebellion there the Turkish troops had lost 80,000 men, with all their equipment, all their artillery—everything. It would be no exaggeration to say that 65,000 or 70,000 men died of starvation. Two years ago this winter, or three years ago, they started a regiment from Jerusalem, in the midst of the rains, to go down and gain the East Jordan Plateau, and march down to this district, a march of five or six hundred miles; and the only things they had in the way of commissariat consisted of a few bags of unground wheat in a waggon. And the irony of it was that that waggon could go only a distance of six hours. Beyond that there was no road. No tents, no food—nothing at all but just a few bags of unground wheat for a regiment of 1,000 men.

Then we had the spies and the secret police. It is impossible, again, for anyone in this favoured land to realize the state of affairs in this respect in the Turkish Empire. The Empire was infested from one end to the other with spies and secret police, and the merest whisper of any political intrigue or of a person possessing liberal ideas in the way of politics was sufficient to fasten the grip of these men upon a man's throat, and he simply disappeared. They could arrest any man in any place at any time, and simply put him out of sight, without any trial whatsoever. And the prisons of Turkey were

simply crammed full with some of the best men, with dozens of the best men of the best families in the Turkish Empire. Acre, where I lived for five years, was one of the places of exile, and in that town there was one of those awful prisons. It was practically underground. I have gone in there to those underground places, without light, without ventilation except through an opening in the vaulted roof, and have seen the prisoners thrust in so tightly that they could only have a little narrow mattress about two feet wide and six feet long, and these mattresses were spread all over the floor as tightly as they could be placed. A room which should, perhaps, contain about twenty-five men would have thrust into it seventy-five or one hundred—the living, the dying, and almost the dead together.

After the proclamation of the amnesty I read of the return of one of the Reformers. He was a member of one of the leading families of Constantinople, and fifteen years ago he was suspected of having some political opinions. He disappeared. For fifteen years he was out of sight and ken of his friends and family. When the amnesty was proclaimed, a few months ago, that powerful Turkish family required six weeks before they could trace the whereabouts of the father of the family. They finally found him in a prison on the edge of the Syrian Desert. The vessel was on the way; it was coming up from the Sea of Marmora. They went down with bands to welcome the return of the exile. The ship came into the dock, and, to their sorrow, they beheld the emaciated wreck of a man borne off upon a stretcher. For years he had been in a prison where they were put so tightly that there was not room for all to lie down at a time. I have seen the inside of those prisons, and I know the unutterable abomination of them.

And then we had the taxes. The system of taxation was simply indescribable. The taxes, of course, were farmed out. A widow of Mount Lebanon had some olive trees. The officials came to collect the taxes. She said: "There is the tenth, the legal tax." They

said: "We want taxes for the wheat." "But," she said, "I have no wheat; that is the only piece of ground that I have." They said: "If the olive trees were not growing there the wheat would, so you must pay for both." Dozens in Palestine simply cut down their olive trees as the only way of getting out of such extortion as that. Then, again, we had the degradation of the authorities through the continual issuing of ultimatums by Western Powers. The Mohammedan has a strong military pride, and is very sensitive, and, along with this, there was a growing sense of impotency, especially along military and naval lines.

I was in Palestine when they sent a squadron to greet the German Emperor. The Emperor came and departed, and about two days after he had gone the squadron arrived. So we find all along the line, and also the insatiable appetite for more money. Always a call in the local circles for more funds. To show the methods of the Central Government I have here two coins. Some millions of these coins were minted at the value of 40 and 10; their value now is 1 to 10. They put the coins into circulation and then they debased them. They did not redeem them; they simply left them in the pockets of the people. Two or three years ago we were simply swamped with counterfeit coins—quarter-dollars. The Governor was changed; and when a new Governor comes we look out for surprises, and we have had three in one year. He declared that these coins were counterfeit, as they were; but when they began to investigate they found that the previous Governor was one of the gang who had been making them, and the new man was in a quandary. He could not very well denounce his predecessor, and so they performed the same operation again. They said: "Yes, they are quarter-dollars; but, instead of being worth 6 piastres, we will allow them to remain at 4."

Then we had the last of the destructive causes—the neglect of the army. This is where they made their great technical error. The second in command of the 9th Corps left at Acre at the time of the troubles in

Armenia received an order to go to Asia Minor and take charge of the operations there. He said: "I am so many months in arrears of my stipend, and I won't go unless you pay me." They replied: "Pay yourself from the Acre treasury." He went to the treasury and found two coins, and it takes sixteen of those coins to make 5 cents! Then the legal pay of the conscript was one Turkish dollar a month for a private. Their term of service was five years, and at the end of five years almost every one of them would be three in arrears. They would go to the headquarters, and the official would say: "This is only a Province in which you have performed your military service. I will write you out an order on the Central Government, where you will get your money." And then, perhaps, a thousand of these men would go back to the Suez Canal, to the Government at Bayreuth, and present these orders. The official there would say: "You ought to have been paid down where you did your military service; but I am a very merciful man, and, out of compassion, I will do this for you: This is for 60 magedas; I will give you 15 for it." The man had no alternative. He took his 15, and the other rascal cashed it for 60. Can you wonder that the army turned around and overthrew the old *régime?*

What are the difficulties to-day? I can only mention them; I cannot explain them. What are the difficulties in the way of a reform party? There is, first of all, the fundamental divergence between the Mohammedan law and the Reform programme. Take it in the way of their liberty of conscience. It is dead in the teeth of the law of Mohammed to talk of equality. I have already shown you that by the law of Mohammed there can be no equality between a Mohammedan and a non-Mohammedan; it is quite impossible. The other day I was impressed by seeing the proclamation of the Shah of Persia that he did not intend to call again the Parliament recently granted in that Empire. He said: "I do not intend to call it again, because it is incompatible. Constitutional government and Mohammedan law are mutually exclusive one of the other." He was compelled

to retract that dictum by the power of the British and the Russian Ministers, but the position of the reactionaries in Persia is the one which represents the fundamental Mohammedan law.

And then we have the baneful results of the past *régime*—a rule by racial hatred. We have the fact that the Turkish Empire to-day is made up of a series of incompatibles — Mohammedan and Christian, Armenian, Turk, Bulgarian, Jew, Syrian, Arabian—races which never have coalesced, and it seems very doubtful if they ever will. And we have the paralyzing influence of Mohammedan practices and ideals. Every one of these points would almost constitute a lecture or an address in itself. The Mohammedan practises sensualism—the degradation of women and girls and children. These things obtained throughout the whole Turkish Empire, and were the real secret of why the Turk has no initiative; why he simply sits down as the sick man of the East, while other races are marching on in the path of progress and prosperity.

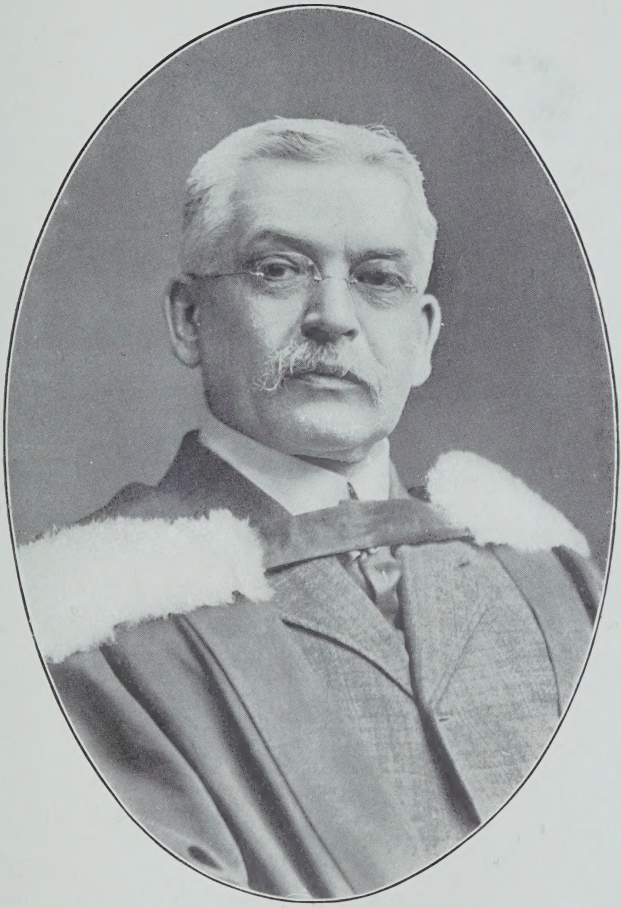
And then we have the ever-present military danger. If one section of the army could overthrow the old *régime,* another section might be able to overthrow the new just as soon as it is made worth their while; and, if they cannot overthrow it, they can induce a condition of civil war. A military attachè at Constantinople told me at one time that some of the military experts of the British Army had gone up into Bulgaria, and they had come back very much impressed with the military proficiency and efficiency of that remarkable race, the only race which has ever passed through the mill of despotism for some centuries and issued with the independence of character, with the power of initiative, with executive forces increased rather than diminished as the result of their experience. He told me, also, that at the time of the last Macedonian crisis, when it was expected that war would be proclaimed between Bulgaria and Turkey, the reserves of the Bulgarian army simply turned out *en masse* ten days before they were expected, and as one

man they appeared at their headquarters. The whole nation is bound together with a spirit of *esprit du corps* not equalled except in the Japanese. They are the Japanese of the nearest East. We must remember, in sizing up the prospects of the Reform Party, that the Bulgarian nation is still a divided nation. Personally, I believe that the Bulgars will give the Turk no rest until the nation stands as a united nation, as they did before the time of the Turkish conquest.

We must mention the want of any moral balance. As I said before, I am keeping away from missionary lines, but I believe the unrest in India to-day is due to one fact—Western education without the Western balance which comes from that hidden sphere, call it ethical, or spiritual, or moral, or whatever you may; and the same results, the same influence which has brought about those results in India are operative to-day in Egypt, and I believe in a very few years we shall see the same state of affairs in Egypt as we see to-day in India—simply because the Western system of thought and of education is a destructive one when brought into contact with Eastern education and thought and morality. It is thrown in upon these people without anything to balance it; without any moral, or ethical, or spiritual foundation upon which to build such a vast and mighty structure. What shall we say, then, after this brief review of these very urgent and very critical questions, as they are at the present time? We see some grand achievements in the past; we see great possibilities in the future; but we see looming up great dangers, which threaten to abrogate the achievements of the past and to overthrow or to annul the possibilities of the future. There is one thing which I feel I must mention to this Club, and that is the re-establishment, the re-ascendancy of British diplomatic influence and power in Constantinople. I have been for some years coming into contact with the tribes of the Arabs in the Arabian Peninsula, that great sub-continent, and it has impressed me again and again—the word and the honour of England. It

stands in the whole of that great sub-continent to-day unparalleled and unapproached by that of any other nation.

And to-day, wherever there is degradation in the world—wherever there is oppression or extortion—the eyes of the oppressed turn to one quarter, as the magnet draws the iron, and that is always England. It is always to England that they look as the model of freedom, of equity, and of square-dealing. And to-day that flag which floats through the four quarters of the globe, from the rocky bastions of Gibraltar, up the Nile, along the great rocky scarps of the north-west frontiers of India, from Hong Kong, from the antipodes in the east and in the west, in the north and in the south; that flag which there is no sea so vast that it does not cross, no sea so lonely that it does not flap to the breeze; that flag to-day stands as the emblem to hundreds and thousands and millions of all that they aspire to in the way of progress, in the way of equity, and, as I have said, of square-dealing. And, to use a common phrase, it is "up to" the men of the British Empire to realize those aspirations, to stand before the nations of the world as worthy of their flag, as worthy sons of the worthy pillars of the Empire in the past.



Yours very truly,
R. B. Stevens

THE GERMANY OF TO-DAY.

Address by PROFESSOR L. E. HORNING, PH.D., of the University of Toronto (Victoria College), before the Empire Club of Canada, on December 10th, 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

The man who wishes to understand the Germany of to-day will have to go a long way back in history in order to get at the sources of the movements that are now so important in that land. Three factors must be taken into account—you must follow carefully the history of Prussia to its present greatness; you must follow the history of the little District of Brandenburg, which began even earlier than Prussia to engage the attention of Europe; and you must study the history of the family that has from 1415 been continuously on the throne, and that boasts of nineteen rulers, averaging twenty-six years apiece, a record not surpassed by any ruling family. It is one of the greatest dynasties that Western Europe has seen.

Furthermore, to understand the problems of to-day in Germany, you must follow the history of Church and State, and their relation to each other. You must know the relations of the nobility, or the upper classes, to the Church and the relation of the Church to these classes; and when you know these, you will find that they were combined for a number of centuries to rule for weal or woe the whole central part of Europe. Then you must also follow the rise of the middle classes which began to assume great importance in the eighteenth century, and culminated in horrible fashion, as far as the French were concerned, in the Revolution of 1789. That event, which marks the crest of one of the waves of middle-class life, is the revolution that did away with the power and strength and importance of the nobility. And, in the nineteenth century, in England, France, Germany, Italy and Austria, we have the rise

of what is sometimes called the fourth class, that is, of the people from whom the Socialists largely recruit their followers. We in Canada may be thankful that we are untrammeled by the history and traditions of the various classes in dealing with our forms of these same problems.

The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, the wars for the liberation of Germany, and for the overthrow of Napoleon in 1812 to 1815; the wars leading to the unification of Germany—in 1864 with Denmark, in 1866 with Austria, and in 1870 and 1871 with France—are all of them more or less direct outcomes of this movement backward and forward, this ebbing and flowing of the tide of national growth and national development in which the lower classes were to be some of the prime factors. The War of 1870 and 1871, which assured to Prussia the headship of the German Confederation and the leadership of the central part of Europe, opened out to the German people a vista of their coming greatness, dazzling in the extreme. Because of the immense indemnity paid by France at the close of the war, Germany was flooded with a wealth that she had never known before, with the result that there began at once a remarkable increase in her industrial output in all departments, which has brought about a complete revolution in the whole life of the country, its evolution from an agrarian or agricultural state to a nation of manufacturers. And you all know, you business men, how important Germany is to-day in commercial matters. Sixty per cent. of her population is dependent upon her industrial weal. That shows you to what great importance her industry has come, and it has all come within thirty-five years. Englishmen, who had had undisputed commercial possession of sea and land up to this time, did exactly what Englishmen are apt to do when somebody comes along whom they have never expected to meet as competitors and rivals; they suddenly woke up, with a sort of unpleasant surprise, to the fact that there was somebody at their elbow, pushing them out, in a great many instances, of what

they thought was their undisputed right and property. What is the result? There is growing up on the side of the Germans an industrial rivalry that inevitably leads them to misinterpret a great many of the moves of England; and on the part of the Englishmen it has led to irritability and shortness of temper, so that they, too, naturally take umbrage at the moves of Germany. This has been going on for a number of years. To-day it is getting dangerous. The Germans feel that they must have all the openings they can find throughout the world; Englishmen feel that they must be up and doing to maintain their hold on their commerce; thus there is brought about a sort of armed neutrality, but you see how naturally and easily one may explain this rivalry of these two great nations, which is fraught with so many grave possibilities for the future. What is necessary for us as Englishmen, and what will be necessary for the Germans as Germans, is to be very careful to have wise heads in control of affairs in both countries, so that no unnecessary friction may result.

Industrially, Germany is in difficulties, because she must have outlets. But that is not the sole problem she has to solve. There is the very troublesome Polish question, which is as old as our era, or nearly so. In the years from 375 to 500 there was a shifting to and fro of the tribes and nations in the central part of Europe—Slavs and Germans and Romans—with the result that the old Roman Empire was dismembered. Its place was occupied in large measure by the German tribes, who in turn, during the succeeding centuries, were driven forward by the incoming Slavs. In the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Germans made heroic efforts to re-colonize the territory that had been won by the Slavs, between the Elbe and the Vistula. Thus it came that there was a strip of land, which you might extend right down to the Adriatic Sea, where the people fought backward and forward with varying success, but with the result that the Germans, chiefly by the aid of the Teutonic Knights, did re-colonize a large portion of the district. The land

they re-conquered is now a part of Prussia, originally the name of a small piece of territory in the north-eastern corner of the Germany of to-day, and the Province of Posen is still largely Slav, that is, Polish.

The question is a difficult one. The Poles are always ready to fight against Germany and Russia for the re-establishment of an independent kingdom. They are very tenacious of their language, quite rightly so I believe, and they are thoroughly well supplied with money by the Catholic Church to over-bid and out-buy the Germans, who wish to get possession of large tracts of their territory and settle them with German-speaking colonists. The question of how to rule conquered countries has not been solved by these Continental nations. England is the only country that knows how to exercise such government. I was in Germany when the question of the South African Confederation came up, and found it very instructive to read the comments of various influential papers in reference to the granting of a constitution to the Transvaal and the Orange Republic. They did not see how it was possible, did not know how it was possible, could not dream of how it could be possible for the English Government to hand over such lately conquered countries of different race to be ruled by themselves under British procedure. They do not understand it to-day. The reason why the Germans are having so much trouble in Africa is that they are ruling the negroes in the way they rule their own German subjects, who have been taught for centuries to obey and march to orders. This Polish question is very important. The Germans are trying to blot out the language of the Poles by decrees of Parliament, which will scarcely be possible, but they have gone so far that even the school-children are engaged in striking against the authority of the Government. Think of such a thing under British rule!

In Denmark they have troubles, and there is the Danish party in both German Parliamentary Houses. In Alsace and Lorraine, which have for centuries been a fighting ground between the southern Germans and

the French, they are also having their troubles to satisfy the people of these newly-acquired territories. All of these are internal political questions that are very important, very difficult to deal with, and all of which require patience.

The geography of Germany brings problems in its train. The Empire is made up of twenty-two different States and three large cities that had been independent for centuries. Great numbers of the citizens of these various States still feel that it would be better to be independent than to have this greatness of Empire, and loss of traditional privileges, thrust upon them. That being so, how can you expect these people to be held together with a thoroughly well-knit bond of union, such as is growing between England and her component parts? If you go back in English history to the union of Scotland with England, or in later days to the Irish question, you will see that we have had in part some of the same problems with which the Germans have still to deal. There is a natural line of cleavage between the north and the south, and what appeals to the north German is very likely not to appeal to the south German, who is of an entirely different temperament. Internally these people are divided, and it is not possible to expect a well-cemented Empire in a single day; such a process takes years, often centuries. They are very patriotic, they are building up a great industrial State, and the necessities of these industrial problems are going to contribute to the cementing of the union in a way mere political considerations would not do.

There is still another question of internal politics, that of the constitution, to which I will refer in a few moments Permit me now to turn to the Colonial policy. Time will not permit me to do more than refer to it and to link it, as it must be, with the great industrial evolution to which I have referred. Whether Germany will ever have colonies, in the sense that England has them, is a question which must be left to the future. As you know, most of the desirable land in the world has already been pre-empted. Outlets for

her wares she must have—but colonies—time alone will tell.

In foreign politics the Eastern question is very interesting, as well as very old. From the Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 down to the present it has been one of the playthings of European politicians. It has been called by one name or another, but it is still with us in the newest form, Slav vs. Teuton. The dismemberment of the Turkish Empire was begun in 1827, when the Kingdom of Greece took new form. The Crimean War of 1854 prevented Russia from reaching Constantinople, but Austria, driven out of Italy in 1866, began to look in the same direction. In 1878, as a result of the Berlin Treaty, the further dismemberment of Turkey was proceeded with and several independent States were formed—Servia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, etc. Roumania was made independent, and given its own king. Two Slav States were given to Austria for occupation and regulation, viz.: Herzegovina and Bosnia. Austria has a large Slav population in its eastern part (Hungary), so that there is now a line of cleavage between Slav and German right through the centre of the Austrian Empire. For long years it has been the hope of every German that with the death of Emperor Franz Joseph the German part of Austria would fall into the German Empire under the leadership of Prussia. Hungary and the Slav Provinces would then naturally make a Slav confederation. Several times when talking with well-educated men in Leipzig two years ago, I heard all this thoroughly discussed. But Austria, instead of dying gracefully, has shown a great deal of liveliness on her death-bed, with the result that she has, within these two months, proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austrian Crown, thus putting a stop to the ambitions and dreams of the young Servians, a Slav people, and creating for herself another step down toward Constantinople and that eastern outlet that she has been wanting so long to obtain.

Finally, permit me to refer to a problem that is en-

gaging the attention of Germans to-day and which is of paramount importance, viz.: the question of the constitution. When the Emperor and the Church went hand in hand, as they did through all the centuries from the twelfth to the sixteenth, there grew up an alliance that has since been hard to sever, with the result that even to-day the ordinary German feels that the Church is in league with the upper classes, and that it is hostile to the interests and ambitions of the lower. That is the reason, a perfectly sane, sensible, historical reason, why the great mass of the people, from whom the Socialists at present recruit most of their adherents, are opposed to the Church. When in the nineteenth century these people found that they had no longer to fight the upper classes—because these had really been done away with by the Revolution—but found they had to fight the middle classes, the conflict became extremely bitter.

It is one of the conundrums of history why these middle classes, who had finally, after long struggle, won their rights from the upper classes, should not be perfectly willing to give to the people below them their own rights, political and otherwise! The history of the nineteenth century, especially of the latter part, is the tale of the efforts on the part of the lower classes to get the same equal rights which the middle classes at present possess.

When you study history from 1848, because the Revolution of 1830 had not concerned the lower classes, from that time down to the present you will find that what we call the Socialist Party were really advanced or Radical Liberals. But if you try to follow the history of the various parties that are to be found in the German House of Commons, you will be dealing with a very intricate and very confusing problem. There is one characteristic of the German which we all admire—he simply does not follow anybody else. He thinks independently and for himself, and he always allows other men the privilege of being of another mind. That is the characteristic of the German professor and of the Ger-

man student. That is the essence of Liberalism, or freedom, when you interpret it in the widest sense possible, and that makes it very hard to follow the history of parties and of the efforts to attain to representative government on the part of the German people. In one Parliament you will find seventeen or eighteen parties, and in the next the same number, only that some that were in the first have separated into two or three sections each, and each section has fresh affiliations in the new Parliament, probably under a new name, only to again change affiliations and names after four or five years. One is very apt to become lost in the resulting confusion; but the general trend is toward a more representative government. They have their constitution, but the trouble is that all through this fight for liberty and parliamentary freedom, as known in England, Prussia, which stands for law and order, and did so much to unite Germany into one whole, is in this respect the most behind-hand of all the twenty-two kingdoms. The Prussian King has always clung to his Divine Right, and that is the trouble with the Emperor to-day. There was a very good reason for these rulers standing for their Divine Right. The people, who had lived and fed their hopes on the progress of the Constitutional development of England and America, were fighting for what they considered their political rights. The Church and the Emperor, with glorious examples behind them in history, were fighting for what they considered their privileges and rights, and the clash is coming—the clash has not come yet to the full extent—but I believe firmly it is imminent. In a very few years, at anv rate, they will be in the midst of it, and then it is a question whether the Emperor will be able to give in gracefully enough to allow the natural course of development in German democracy to have its wav. The day of Democracy is coming all over the world, in a sense that we have not yet dreamed of. Nothing can stop it. Judging from the development of history nothing can stop the onward march of the idea that every man has a right to his full share in the

government under which he lives. Therefore it seems to me that, put it off as long as you like, some day the various Radical parties in Germany will see the necessity of union for political ends. It is very unfortunate, to my mind, that the Socialists have been dealt with so severely and unfairly. There is absolutely no justification for the treatment meted out in the last few years to a party that numbers one-fourth of the voters of the land. Nothing can prevent these people from gaining their rights in time, and let us hope that the revolution will be bloodless and not, as it was in 1789, horror-striking and terrible.

These questions of the industrial and political development of Germany are, of course, the main questions to-day. There are other questions, however—the relation of nation to nation, for instance—which are also fraught with a great deal of danger. A few years ago, as a result of the immense influence gained for Germany by the Franco-Prussian War there was formed the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy. That alliance has naturally gone the way of all the earth, because Italy was not wealthy enough to bear its share of the burden; Austria was having its own trouble with its Slav population; therefore Germany has had to bear the brunt alone. When Germany wanted coaling ports for her fleets, which she has been so anxious to build, she seized the first pretext for intermeddling with European politics, and the Moroccan question originated. Out of that case Germany did not come with altogether flying colours. Then she has been trying, through the Bagdad Railway, which runs down through Asia Minor, to create an outlet there for some of her commerce; and she has been also trying to gain for herself territory in Africa that will give her some room for surplus population. This territory in Africa led her into trouble in the Boer War, because the Emperor, who had his eyes on Africa, was very anxious that the English should not gain the Orange Free State, but should be kept out of it at all costs, and it is perfectly well authenticated that German officers, perhaps

without sanction, were aiding and abetting and encouraging the Boers to continue the opposition to England.

Whether all men see eye to eye on the Boer War, or agree as to the injustice of England's position, it seems to me that it was inevitable, and that the result has been for the best. The very liberality with which England has treated those Republics has given evidence that her ambition or her designs were not altogether discreditable.

The telegram of the Emperor to President Kruger was one of the most recent causes of friction between England and Germany. Of course you saw or heard of the letter in the *Daily Telegraph,* or the interview a couple of months ago, explaining that Germany had really stopped France and Russia from combining against England at that dangerous juncture. I have read that explanation, and of the relation of Germany, France and Russia at that time, and yet I am not led to believe that Germany was altogether disinterested. We have also the statement of the Emperor that he contributed a plan of campaign, which was marvellously like that which the English followed. That is, of course, something that may or may not have been. Personally, I do not think that Lord Roberts followed any plan but his own.

I am probably safe in saying that few of us dreamed that our King Edward would develop into such a thorough-going diplomat as he has proved himself to be. We have every reason to be proud of his work. Without shedding a drop of blood, he has cemented Europe into what may be called a peaceful family of nations, first of all encircling and isolating the only nation from which there is to-day any real trouble to be expected. That is a terrible thorn in the side of the Germans. Read the comments in the various newspapers, national and provincial, as I read them a year ago, and you will see who is the bold, bad man—the silent Edward, as they call him. And every cartoon, and there are plenty of fine cartoonists in Germany, which deals with these questions, has this silent man in the

background. He is an untold force; he knows how to hold his tongue.

The German Emperor is a man of a different stamp. Believe me, I have just as high a respect for his great abilities as any German can have. I think there is no country in the world in which I would rather live, if I were not in England or English possessions, than in Germany. You have to be a little careful there with political thought, just as we have to be here with religious thought. But if you want to be up-to-date to-day on religion, or politics, or commerce, or science, of any kind whatever, you have to study and know the German people, their language and their methods. We have to go to Germany to study even the English language. There is no doubt about it, gentlemen, the most important language for us in the world, outside of our own Mother-tongue, is our sister-tongue, the German. We must reckon with it at every turn. A few years ago we could go here and there all over the world and find the Union Jack flying, but we did not find the German flag. To-day it does not matter where we go, the very finest ships that are sailing the seas are flying the German flag, and the most rapid and most thorough progress that is being made in commercial lines is made under their tutelage and under their guidance.

The German recognizes science in a way that Englishmen have no conception of, and we Englishmen will have to waken up, as we have not wakened up, to the fact that the German is the most progressive nation on the face of the earth to-day. I appreciate and love the Germans naturally and with good intent and thorough right. I have enough German in me to make me very susceptible of influence from their side; but I am Canadian, as all of you are. I am Canadian because my father and my grandfather and great-grandfather were born in this country—among the first settlers. I am English because I love the English Constitution and the political freedom that is granted under that Constitution; but I am German in spirit, and in thought and in love, because I love the scientific freedom and the pro-

gressive spirit that animates every mother's son of them, from the East to the West and the North to the South. I respect the German Emperor and believe he is thoroughly honest and upright in his views, and that he believes he is called of God to his great office. It will be hard for him, a young man in the prime of life, to resign the privileges that have come down through the ages to his family. It will be next to impossible for him to give them up. But I most firmly believe that it will be necessary for him to do this, because I believe, above all kings and classes and rulers, there is the Democracy that has to be reckoned with in this twentieth century of our era. I hope and believe that the democratic progress in Germany will not be stopped, will not be hindered, will not be delayed beyond what will be necessary to ensure solidity of growth. On the other hand, wise provisions for the development of German Democracy, with a wise yielding on the part of the German Emperor, will make it possible for Germany to remain, where she undoubtedly stands to-day, in the very fore-front of the nations.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM IN RUSSIA.

Address by PROFESSOR JAMES MAVOR, of the University of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on December, 17th 1908.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

A former President of the Empire Club, Colonel Mason, was good enough to ask me, some years ago, to give an address about Russia, and I did so at the time when Russia was engaged in the war with Japan. During the four years which have intervened much water has flowed under the bridges, and many things have happened in Russia. The particular aspect of Russian development which I am to talk to you about is the Constitutional aspect. It may seem strange, but as a matter of fact Russia is now a constitutional country; that is to say, it has a Constitution of a kind. That Constitution is being frequently disregarded by the autocracy, but at the same time it exists, and the revolution has, in a sense, already occurred. That revolution has not been unattended by bloodshed. There has been much bloodshed, but the bloodshed has been rather apart from the revolution.

Let me endeavour to convey to you some idea of the actual course of events. While the war was going on there was, of course, tremendous excitement among the people. The merchants, the artisans, the peasantry and the nobility were all equally excited, and they were all inclined to blame the bureaucratic Government for its share in the disasters. They blamed the military administration for inefficiency, and blamed the Government for putting into positions of authority and influence people who were not fit to hold them. That was the popular view. There was not the faintest difference of opinion among the classes at that time. That spirit, that state of mind, continued after the war was over, and was particularly acute during the last stages

of the war, when defeat after defeat overwhelmed the Russian arms. This state of mind, then, developed into a more or less chronic oppositionalism; that is to say, everybody, all classes of the community, as well as the newspapers, came out more or less strenuously in opposition to the Government. It was a time when the Censorship was in full force, and many newspapers were suspended. But the newspaper that was suspended one day came out the next day under another editorship and another name. Mere suspension was an inadequate remedy, and the Government got into the habit of letting the papers alone. In 1905 the press generally seized liberties, as it was termed; that is, they simply issued the paper without paying any attention to the Censor whatever. And the paper made its appearance, and circulated, and the damage was done before the Censor had time to get out of bed in the morning.

Now you see that a Government carried on under circumstances of that kind was in a very powerless condition, because the law was simply disregarded. Moreover, the law was disregarded by the Government itself, although the ordinary Courts pursued their course in the ordinary way, and criminals were tried, etc. There were many things done by the Czar himself without the knowledge of his Ministers; many things done by the Ministers without the knowledge of the Czar, or at all events in contradiction to previous Manifestos of the Czar himself; and the ordinary course of law was disregarded, practically, to a very large extent. The local authorities were confused, and did not know exactly what to do, whom to obey, whether the Minister of the Interior, or some Secretary of State who took upon himself to interfere with the Minister of the Interior. During the latter days of his power, M. Witte was in the habit of doing that kind of thing. He interfered with nearly every administrator. Governments, of course, got into hopeless and complete discredit, and everybody felt that some great change must take place. What kind of change would it be?

The year 1905 is the important one to study—a wonderful year in which there was a tremendous intellectual and political movement in Russia, particularly intellectual, and in which the newspapers were the best, the most brilliant and ably conducted in the world. The press poured out copious volumes of books which told frankly about the Government, in which the previous revolutionary propaganda assumed a very pale aspect indeed, because everything was ostentatiously denounced and expounded. In 1905, then, that was the state of mind, and the close of the year brought a series of events of a more or less disastrous kind, beginning with October. On the 17th of October, old style (Russian dates are thirteen days behind ours), the Czar issued a Manifesto which announced that in a short time a Constitution would be given to Russia, and a representative Assembly would be convened. And on the evening of that day there were great demonstrations in St. Petersburg. All the intelligent people turned out and prolonged the meetings far into the night—until the morning. Everybody thought Russia was to be completely changed, the long-desired event had taken place, and without any bloodshed they would speedily slide into a new epoch.

On the 19th of October, two days afterward, riots and violent disturbances took place in very many different parts of Russia. What was the meaning of that? People were not surely going to reject the proposals which were made on behalf of the Government, were not going to insult the Czar by throwing back the Manifesto he had issued. These manifestations were afterward proved in the Douma to have been deliberately organized by the reactionary party. It was gross, outrageous, scandalous—one of the most mischievous things that has ever taken place in the history of Russia, to organize, deliberately, action of that kind at the very moment when everybody was hoping for the future, and a general feeling of peace and of amity to the Czar existed. That moment was put an end to by the disturbances which had broken out in so many of the towns of

Russia. There were organized attacks, not only upon the Jews, but also upon the members of the Liberal groups generally. They provoked throughout Russia, in the minds of all persons, and almost without any discrimination, excepting in the extreme revolutionists, the impression that Russia was not ready for a Constitution, that Russia was not ready for representative government, that it would be a dangerous thing, indeed, to extend the concessions which were being made; because whenever a concession was made disturbances immediately took place. You can see what the effect of that would be upon people not well informed, and at a time when it was impossible to make any immediate or thorough enquiry into the circumstances. During the following days reprisals occurred, and late in December there occurred the armed uprising in Moscow, which was put down only after considerable trouble, and at the expense of the burning of a part of the city.

There came in January the Douma. Meanwhile there had been, apart from these overt disturbances, a great amount of discussion as to the character of the representative assembly. In the first place, many of the parties wanted a constituent assembly—that is to say, wanted a convention to be called together at the capital; a convention of notable persons in the country, in order to discuss and decide what should be the form of representative government. But the Czar, under the advice of his Council, decided not to adopt that plan, but directly to convene a representative assembly, devised on plans decided upon in the Cabinet—that is to say, in the Cabinets of the Ministers. There were no fewer than five projects which were developed during the later months of 1905. I need not detail these five projects, although they differed in important respects; but, generally speaking, these were the difficulties which were encountered. In the first place, there was the immense size of Russia, involving consideration of parts of the country widely differing in physical geography and productivity and character of population.

You know that Russia is considerably larger than the

United States and Canada put together, including Alaska, and its population is one-half larger than the combined populations of the United States and Canada. These things make it tremendously difficult to organize any uniform government. Besides that, Russia having been built up, not having grown up like the United States, for example, which grew out gradually from a centre, and where there is no very definite consolidation of different races in different parts, although there is a certain amount of it. In Russia it is otherwise. Here is one race, one solid knot of Finns, in the north-western part of Russia. South of that there are the Baltic provinces, with their several populations, and the German population intermingled with these people; and then, again, south and west of the Baltic provinces there is Poland, with its alien population and an intense feeling of nationality, without any sympathy with the Russian people in general. And there are also the Lithuanian populations, and south of these again there are the Great Russians, which represent the nucleus of the Russian people. And south again, occupying a large part of the most fertile portion of the whole country, there are the Little Russians, with a strong feeling of nationality; and then come the Caucases, with a still more intense feeling of nationality and determination to uphold it.

Russia has only kept the Caucasus by means of a large force of troops; and when you come across the Caspian Sea to the outlying Asiatic peoples you find altogether different races, having different religions, with a very large portion Mohammedan and some belonging to the Greek Church; you find innumerable tribes—very, very large groups of men—constituting each of them a hard and solid knot in the country; not distributed about the country, but constituting distinct and different tribes with a different language from the rest of the people, with altogether different ideas and temperaments. You can see, therefore, what a difficult problem it is to govern a country like that in such a way, for example, as the United States or Canada is governed.

About 1881 there had been a considerable amount of

discussion as to the character of the constitution which Russia must ultimately have. A friend of mine told me about that time that the Grand-Duke Constantine had his mind very much drawn to this matter and had studied it very carefully, and that a part of his studies was devoted, curiously enough, to the constitution of Canada and the British North America Act; and he thought it might be possible to apply that Act to Russia, that Russia might be divided into five provinces, and that each of these provinces might have a Parliament, with a great Imperial Council at St. Petersburg. He never developed that idea very fully, and the subsequent events of 1882—the assassination of Alexander II. and the reaction which followed—swept out of sight altogether any idea of constitutional discussion. And, curiously enough, this matter has never come up again. During all these discussions I have gone over most of the important papers on the subject and there is absolutely no reference to any suggestion of dividing Russia into several great provinces. And all parties are united on the idea of having one Imperial Douma, one Imperial House, and not a number of houses. Of course it is quite true that the extreme difficulty is in dealing with these antagonistic races. If the Poles had Imperial rule in the same sense as Ontario has in regard to the Dominion, then the Polish House would unquestionably be, inevitably and always, in hostility to the rest of Russia. It would be a concentration. That is the view that is taken, not merely by the reactionary groups, but by the others; even the Socialists strongly disapprove of a special Polish Party or House.

Let me now give you some idea of the great complexity of the parties which existed in the first and second Doumas, and which, to some extent, also exists in the Douma of to-day. In the first place, on the extreme right of the President of the Douma there are the so-called Righters, or Right Parties. Then there are what are known as the Black Hundred, or extreme Russian Party of reactionaries, prepared to go to any length, even to the extent of organizing counter-conspiracies and counter-revolutions, to attain their objects.

Then next to these there come the Octrabists, or adherents of the Manifesto of October 17, a rather considerable group of more or less moderate and well-meaning persons; and then there are minor groups having a certain solidarity of interest. Apart from these small groups there come the Constitutional Democrats. That is a very interesting group, at all events in the first and second Doumas, because they express the bulk of intelligent opinion in Russia. The Constitutional Democrats were Liberals who proposed to attain all the legitimate ends of the revolution by strictly constitutional means. The Cadiette Party, as they were called, then came, as it were, in the centre, and formed a very large part of the first Douma. And then to the left of these there came the more or less revolutionary parties—the Social Democratic, and the so-called Toil Group, or Labour Group, partly peasant and partly artisan. To the extreme left there were a few isolated Social Revolutionaries. That was the composition of the first Douma.

You can see that it was an impracticable body to make anything out of. These numerous parties could only become influential by combining together, and they would not combine; it would be more or less discreditable to combine, as they found themselves so extremely divided in points of view. The first Douma was quite an impracticable body, though when it was dissolved there was a great outcry about it in Russia and Europe; yet although it was a rather deplorable thing that the first experiment in representative government should so speedily come to an end, nevertheless in a very short time people accepted the dissolution of the Douma quite quiescently, because they began to feel that, after all, it was more or less a failure. It was a failure in this way, that the representatives of numerous groups who went into the Douma did not go there as representing the groups—were not sent there to represent the groups—but to represent the population; and it became very apparent that though the Constitutional Democrats did represent the constitution of the Democratic party, yet they did not represent the people who sent them there. Similarly, the members of the Toil Group, one of the leaders of

whom had been a workingman in London and New York, and a social agitator more or less in both places, did not, of course, represent the peasants. He was not himself a peasant. He was a small landed proprietor. He was elected in his village as a night-watchman, in order to give him a domiciliary status, so that he could be elected. He was more an American than a Russian; and, as a matter of fact, the Government knew these things very well, and these things were more or less indefensible.

The peasants were very ignorant; they could not send their own members with any effect into the Douma or Parliament, and they had to take the materials that were offered to them. And the materials were not always of the most appropriate character. The Douma was dissolved, and the effect of that dissolution upon the country, which might have been extremely disastrous, was not so. I mean to say that it passed over very quietly, for two reasons. In the first place, the people were exhausted and tired with the violent disturbances in the two capitals, particularly in Moscow, and they were not prepared for another outbreak if it had so happened. But these things can never be arranged, of course. If, on the morrow of the dissolution of the Douma, the troops at Sebastopol, as they did before in the Baltic, had revolted; and those at Cronstadt had revolted; and numerous revolts had taken place, as they had taken place at different times; and if the Moscow uprisings had taken place; if these things had occurred, all at once, there would have been a tremendous outbreak; because these things, taken singly, were exceedingly important, and if they had been taken collectively it would have been a dreadful business. That would have been visibly and demonstratively a revolution, but it did not fall out that way.

Violence took place before the Douma was in existence at all, and the result of the dissolution of the Douma was not unfavourable to the Government. Then the second Douma was called. It was called on the same electoral law, but the resources of civilization were not quite exhausted and the persons in authority in Russia had evidently been studying the American prin-

ciple of the gerrymander, because the second elections were gerrymandered with great skill, and the undesirable elements, most of them at all events, were left out, with the result that the second Douma was better than the first. Still, it contained a great many of those career-makers who had been filling the first Douma, and again, after a short experience, the second Douma was dissolved. There came a new law. The Czar said in his Manifesto: "We regret that the Douma has been unsuccessful. We must have another Douma and it must be elected under a new electoral law, in which the non-Russian elements must not have a predominant place;" that is to say, in which the Poles and the Armenians and the other numerous non-Russian races should not have as much influence as they had under the previous law. And that new electoral law was so devised that it threw an increasing amount of power into the hands of the landlords. Under the first electoral law the peasantry had a very great deal of power, a great deal of influence, and they were given that influence because it was supposed that the peasantry were conservative. But it was seen that they sent not peasants into the Douma, who would do no harm; that is to say, persons who were quite inarticulate—the peasant talks to you continually but in quite an ineffective way; he is very curious and very interesting, but not particularly coherent or consecutive. He is continually asking questions which he does not expect you to answer, and the rulers knew that it was quite harmless to allow any number of peasants in the Douma. But persons who were able debaters, much abler debaters than the adherents of the Right, who usually were military people who did not know anything about military affairs, had been chosen by the peasants, and therefore it was very important that they should be excluded.

The peasants were given less and less power in the second and third Doumas, and the result was that the third Douma was elective under a law which threw a good deal of power into the hands of the landlords. One of the great difficulties in the whole question, apart from the difficulty of race, is the completely divergent

interests of the agrarians and the industrials. Out of 140,000,000 of Russian population there are about 100,000,000 of agriculturists, and about 15,000,000 of industrials. The actual number of working men in Russia is about 3,000,000, and the population depending on them 10,000,000 or 15,000,000. These industrial people live in towns under very unfavourable factory conditions. Large numbers of the working men live in barracks under most unsanitary conditions, and they are quite predisposed to strike whenever it is suggested to them that they should strike.

The peasantry wanted one thing; they wanted more land, and that is a large question. The working proletariat—that is to say, the working man without capital in the cities—they did not want more land. They were not interested in the question. The peasants' cry is: "Go away and let us have the land. We do not want any landlords. We do not want any taxes. All we want is to be allowed to cultivate the land in our own way." That, of course, is a demand which cannot in any country be granted. It simply could not be done. The working men in the towns have come to be affected very seriously by the propaganda of collectivism that has been carried on by the Socialists for some years. They have got it into their minds that the only way of having good factory conditions is for the factories to belong entirely to the Government, and the factories therefore must be seized by the Government, and all industry carried on by the Government. So much has been done by the Government already that there is some excuse for that idea on the part of the working men. The peasants say: "We do not care about that at all;" but when the urban artisan says, "Well, of course, if we nationalize the factories we shall have to nationalize the land," the peasant says, "What; nationalize the land? No, the land is mine; that would be monstrous. Nationalize anything you like, but you must not nationalize the land. It would deprive the peasant of his land and cause him to work for you. We want to work for ourselves."

There is a hopeless divergence between the urban

proletariat point of view and the peasant point of view. The peasant's extreme point of view led to those disastrous revolts in 1905. The peasants very naturally said: "Well, we are going to have a representative Assembly. We are going to send peasants to the Assembly to represent us, and when they get there they will have to do what we tell them, and we may as well anticipate what they are going to do, and take the land now." So they said to the landlords, "Gentlemen, we have no further use for you. You may go away any place you like and leave us the land." Many of the landed proprietors did so—were obliged to do so. The most sensible way for the time being was to submit to the peasants! The landlords complained to St. Petersburg; punitive expeditions were sent down; Cossacks whipped and robbed the people and committed inexpressible crimes of other kinds, and so on. From these expeditions there grew up a natural crop of violences of another kind, and ever since, during the past three years, in every Russian newspaper there has been a report of the assassination of a major official, or a minor official, or some local official, who has been particularly active in these pacifications; so that, during the three years that have elapsed since 1905 there has been, particularly in connection with these punitive expeditions, a carnival of assassination and murder.

You may say that that kind of thing cannot possibly go on continuously, and that the Russian Government is at an end as an autocracy. The Czar in his own interest must supply lightning-conductors—he must have some people who will take the charge of the people from his own head. Therefore, he must have a capable Council of Ministers, which, indeed, he has at the moment, although there is a tendency toward reaction just now that is more or less inevitable from the general circumstances of the case. One hopes that after this trouble is over the country will pass into a more or less peaceful state, because the problems that are to be worked out cannot be worked out in a sudden way, but only gradually and by the application of statesmanlike ability and insight.

INDIA AND BRITISH HONDURAS.

Address by BRIGADIER-GENERAL E. J. E. SWAYNE, C.B., before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 4th, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

This is the second time I have come to Toronto. The first time was in the summer, when I had the opportunity of seeing the Golf Club, the Yacht Club, the Hunt Club, and all those beautiful places around Toronto which make it so well-known in England. The country around about reminds me of Devonshire. This time I have the honour of being invited to this Club, an honour which I very much appreciate, because I know that the men of Toronto who come here are men of weight in business, and men who can ill spare the time. I was sent to Canada by the Imperial Government owing to its having heard that a large number of British subjects from India, who have a special claim upon the Government as being British subjects, were destitute, or likely to become destitute this winter in British Columbia. On my arrival in the country I found the trade conditions had so improved on the Pacific Coast and they had become practically absorbed, and that all or nearly all were receiving good wages.

As regards the political question which is involved in the presence of this East India Colony in British Columbia, I do not propose to say anything. I am in the position of British Governor of a small Colony, and it would be best if I left that question aside; but I may say that, so far as the East India Colony is at present concerned, the question has solved itself. As regards the advent of more people, I do not know what will be done. The people there have work, they are satisfied, are loyal and able to do the work required of them. Naturally, in the wake of the better men have come a number of riff-raff, as is always the case, but on the

whole the colony there is able to do that portion of the work which all industries, at their commencement, require in the way of some cheap form of labour, cheaper than can be got under the employment of a restricted class of labour. Whether they are to remain or not, I have nothing to say. All I can say is that they are British subjects, and I know Canadians will always give British subjects fair play.

Moreover, the men there belong to the fighting races of India, at least the greater part of them; for instance, the Sikhs, who come from the northern part of India. In religion these people have not progressed as far as Buddhism, but they have had their day in India, and a great and brilliant day it was. They aimed at making themselves a position in the Punjab and they did so. They managed to get together a band of men who were devoted to their objects of purity of life and steadfastness of resolve. These are what now mark the Sikhs out for our notice. They at one time fought us in a way that no other Indian peoples have fought us. We met men whom we found it was an honour to fight, men whom we only subdued owing to internal dissensions. In one case, one regiment had twenty-four officers lying dead on the mess table after the action was over. Since that day the Sikhs have been absolutely loyal to us. During the days of the Mutiny, when we had such a struggle to regain our position in India, it was the Sikhs who gave us their support; not only the Sikhs of our own provinces, but the native chiefs who were in alliance with us; they threw in their lot with us, and it was chiefly due to that assistance that we were able to regain our position in North-western India.

The Sikhs have not got the same class prejudice as the rest of the natives of India, and therefore when it was desirable to employ British Indian troops outside the limits of India, it was the Sikhs who were called upon. In olden days the nations of India looked upon it as a penal thing to have to go out of India. It was against their caste to cross the ocean. We employed

Sikhs, who had no class prejudice, and the rest of the people have followed. We have had no difficulty in employing the Indian army outside of India, and it is due to the Sikhs that this has come about. They have a special claim upon our protection, and I trust that those who are now in British Columbia will receive that fair play which I know Canadians will give them.

Regarding our position in India to-day, a great deal has been said in the press, and a great deal of exaggeration has been uttered. At the same time, undoubtedly, elements of unrest exist, but as long as our native army is loyal, and the Sikhs are probably the most loyal portion of it, I am certain that we are able to cope with any situation that may come up. The agitation is due to our beneficent rule. We have given to India our Western ideas of education; we have tried to give them the advantages of the education which we have in Europe; and knowing, as we do, that representation must follow education, we have tried to train the people of India to District Boards and Municipal Councils, so as to take their part in self-government when the time is ripe. The process must be a slow and difficult one. When you realize the enormous distances, the differences in religion, in race, even in colour, between the different parts of India, you will see how difficult it is to apply representative institutions to that country. You find difficulty in many countries where there is a division of race or even of language.

You know the trouble that has been caused in Turkey by the fact that Mohammedans and Christians are under one rule. To bring representative institutions, therefore, to a country like India, which possesses people as radically different from each other as the North of Scotland is from the South of Turkey, is a matter of extreme difficulty. You cannot talk about representative institutions in connection with a country like India as if it were one country having one race and one people in it. It has dozens of races absolutely different from each other, races only kept from cutting each other's throats by the dominance of British power.

If England were to leave India to-morrow, of which there is no probability, these races would be cutting each other's throats and anarchy would result. This the Princes of India know perfectly well, and in any difficulty we may now have we know that we shall have the Princes of India with us. They have independent States. Practically half the acreage of India is under their control. They have millions of subjects and their position is secure simply because we keep an even balance of justice between the different hatreds of the people. If we were to leave, these hatreds would break out, and those Princes would be insecure. We can count upon their co-operation. Also, this agitation has been chiefly confined to the Hindus, and the Mohammedans absolutely oppose the Hindus in matters of religion and would therefore not join in with them.

We can count on their co-operation. In India we have 75,000 British troops, 158,000 native troops, 30,000 reserves and 20,000 Imperial service troops. We also have 130,000 native police and some 30,000 volunteers, some of whom are pure white and some coloured. They chiefly comprise railway volunteers and people in the civil department, employed under the Government of India; so that we have altogether some 420,000 natives in our employ under arms, whether as police or as troops, and on the other hand we have 75,000 British troops. The strength of our civil administration and the loyalty of our native army cannot be over-rated. The latter may be wholly depended upon to cope with all situations which may turn up. The present agitation is an educative result. I am sorry to say that in nine cases out of ten an education is gone in for because the men acquiring it wish to obtain some government position. It is only in the case of the native Princes that they go in for education because they want to raise themselves intellectually. The average man goes in for it because he hopes to get a government billet, or else because he hopes to go to the bar, or on the native press. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred these men must be disappointed. There is only one position in a hun-

dred which these men can hope to get. We govern the country as a dependency, and we must do so as long as we are there. We did not give the scope to educated men of ability which is given in other countries. This must naturally be so. In the native States such scope is given, and at present I can see no agitation in the native States, owing to the fact that education has not yet been extended on the scale that we have extended it because of the knowledge that the native chiefs have that such extension, without proper scope to which it can be applied, would be harmful in their States. It is partly due to this cause that the agitation has not developed in the native States, and partly to the fact that they have more scope in the government of those States than is the case under direct British rule.

I think I have perhaps said enough as regards the East Indies and our position there. I will turn now to British Honduras, the needs of which Colony brought me to Canada to see whether I could obtain a number of your East Indian labourers. We are satisfied that the East Indians would meet our needs, because we have had them in British Honduras before, in the palmy days of sugar. When that industry was gone, most of these natives returned to their homes. A few remained, were given land grants, and are settled peaceably in the country. They are too few, however, for our needs, and besides these small communities we have only the mahogany-cutting population to depend upon. Mahogany, hitherto, has been the mainstay of the country. The logs are cut in the forest and floated down the rivers, and at the mouth of the rivers they are chipped and squared for the English market, and sent away. Where the chips settle in the mud of the delta and the sea coast, there solid land is formed. As I told the people in Ottawa, and it is a fact, when the mahogany cutters are chipping the logs, they have been in the habit of drinking their tot of rum, and in the course of time the mahogany chips and rum bottles settled, and now a city is solidly built upon mahogany chips and rum bottles. You may dig down a well 50 to 100

feet, and you will still find mahogany chips and rum bottles. It shows with what solidity our work is done!

The original settlers were buccaneers. The many creeks, and islands, and rivers and lagoons gave most happy retreats to the buccaneers, and there are many stories of treasures being buried on the outlying reefs. Sometimes we hear of an American party which has chartered a yacht and come to explore for treasure, and on several occasions the police have gone out after them, to be in time just to be too late. They found the people gone, and they found old broken-up boxes; therefore it is to be presumed that the treasure hunters did not go away empty-handed. The creeks and rivers of the Colony permit penetration into the very heart of the country. Some of them can be navigated for over 100 miles and, recently, by blasting channels, we have enabled motor-boats to navigate them; and the main river, connecting as it does with the frontier, is now carrying 150 tons of freight a week, while a great development of trade is taking place with beneficial results to the revenue of the Colony.

The lower parts of the rivers are swampy, but as you go inland the country rises and becomes thoroughly healthy; it is covered with dense forests, and thoroughly fertile. It is the most fertile country I have ever come across under tropical suns. In the bush you find cocoa growing wild. It has been cultivated and exported, and we receive top prices for our cocoa. We find custard apples wild, and orange groves which have gone wild owing to their former development having been stopped by the protective duties in the United States. We had a large number of what they call orange walks, and they throve at one time, but the United States shut us out, and we have no other outlet, so the orange industry failed. It was too far to send them to England. I want to get a connection between Canada and British Honduras, so that you will be eating British Honduras oranges here.

We grow bananas to a large extent, and our bananas have a more keeping quality than those of the South,

and are able, therefore, to travel better. As a matter of fact, bananas are exported to England—a sixteen-day journey. We could put our bananas into Montreal, and St. John, and Toronto, fresh and fit for the market. We receive 25 cents a bunch now in British Honduras, and when they get to New Orleans they are marketed for $1.25 a bunch. It is owing to the isolation of the Colony that we are only able to get 25 cents a bunch. I hope by increasing the production of the country to get better prices. As long as we get those low prices we have to depend upon cheap labour. We must get cheap labour, and that is why I want the East India coolies if I can get them. On the Pacific Coast they are getting too much for me, but probably not more than they ought to have. As far as we are concerned, we cannot pay high prices for our labour at present, although we will later on, when we are developed. We have also sugar. It is protected at present by a one-and-a-half cent tax per pound. Owing to the shortage of labour, we cannot produce sugar so cheaply that we can export it. British Guiana has received much money from time to time, and they can produce cheap sugar. The big factories have found it cheaper to purchase sugar from the independent coolies than to grow it themselves.

We can take, in British Honduras, 5,000 tons of flour a year from Canada, if Canada will send it, and I believe Canada can send it to us. We can take 2,000 tons of pork; and, although Canada cannot export pork at present, she will in the future. I think that the sugar refineries of Canada will probably require our sugar in the future. It is only a question of labour which hampers us at present. Cocoanuts, of course, we have, like all other tropical Colonies, and we export about five million a year. Every year large plantations are being put down, and are very remunerative. You get your crop after a year. We have been selling large tracts of land to capitalists, on condition that they must cultivate them and provide their own labour. Rubber grows in the country, and it is tapped by the native Indians in a very unskilful way. We are getting plantations made scien-

tifically, and in the future Honduras rubber will figure in the market. We have a particular plant, which should have a great commercial future. It is an oil nut. They are very big palm trees, very graceful, and grow in dense groves, 80 to 100 feet high, and the most beautifully-formed clusters of nuts hang around the top of the tree where the leaves begin. Each tree would probably give nearly a ton of nuts in a year. These nuts are covered by a hard, leathery skin, which has been found difficult to break up for commercial uses. The nut requires a machine in order to express the oil; but a machine of the right kind has not yet been found. Many men have been experimenting, and some big concerns have got the matter in hand in England, and when a suitable machine is found to extract the oil economically and commercially, then that oil is going to be a very important source of revenue to the Colony. It is a good, clear oil, used for cooking. It is sweet, and is an oil which, I am sure, will take the market when we can put it on the market in proper quantities at a fair price.

IMPERIAL CITIZENSHIP.

Address by the Rev. C. S. Eby, D.D., of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on January 28th, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I want to speak to-day as briefly, and say in as few words as possible, what thoughts I have, even though the result may appear to be very broken fragments, elements of thought that are incomplete. I have been told that in addressing an audience I must not take anything for granted; but to-day I will have to take a very great deal for granted, and appeal to the intelligence of my hearers as I, perhaps, go with seven-league boots from point to point. Perhaps, also, the way in which I shall treat this subject will be different from what you had expected; and yet even though it may be entirely different, it may not be without its meed of helpfulness or of suggestiveness. The more I study the great questions that come up in the papers and magazines and are otherwise brought to our attention, the more I feel that almost every question is becoming Imperial, or, even more, international. And, then, that the only solution to all of these questions is in the citizen, in the individual man, the intelligent man, who is at the basis of the fabric of our institutions.

Take, for instance, the local unemployed question that we have here, a thousand unemployed, seven hundred of them with wives—between two and three thousand children involved. On the other hand, the question involved, the difficulties connected directly and indirectly with that movement, are not local, but are of interest to the Mother Country, to every nation in the Empire, and to every Empire in the world. It is an international question of interlacing interests that cover not only this land, but all lands; so that, side by side, you have the development of an Imperial question that we must look at from

an Imperial standpoint, and realize the fact that the voice we hear around the City Hall extends to the outermost edges of the civilized world. I think that Canada, with all her advantages in a thousand ways that I do not need to enumerate, with her intelligent citizenship in particular, ought to help to solve this and other problems of a similar character.

What is Imperial citizenship? Is it the assumption of authority of one set of men over another, or is it not rather the realization of an inheritance which brings responsibilities and obligations with it to each individual man that we ought to translate into our life? To illustrate this—there are two types of Englishmen abroad. We have all met them; but, of course, there is only one type of them here. A friend of mine in England a while ago was asked by an English artist why it was that the Englishman was so terribly disliked, discounted, abroad. "Will you be mad now if I tell you the reason?" asked my friend. "No," he said. "Very well; the reason is that they are so confoundedly disagreeable." This type was illustrated a few days ago by a man who came fresh from the Old Land, and was welcomed here in Canada, amongst numerous others who came and were also down and out, not having enough to put on or enough to eat. They were helped very nicely by the Welcome League and other friends. One man remarked: "How very nicely these colonials are receiving us." "Why, of course! What else should they do? We owns 'em." You have there a specimen of insularity expanded into imperialism—littleness made big in its materialism, but without the soul that was needed to fill the larger role, and ridiculous in the smaller sphere. On the other hand, you have, in another type of Englishman, the finest specimen of man on the face of God's earth. One illustration was given by an Ambassador at the capital of the neighbouring Republic—Lord Pauncefote, I think it was. Somebody was going to meet him at the train, and wanted to know how he could recognize the Ambassador from Great Britain. The answer was: "He is a tall man, and you will find him helping some poor old woman."

And so it was. There you had a man who was a true nobleman, and not simply a man representing the Empire; but in everything he did he acted as a nobleman—the large ideal working out into every detail of life.

Another thing—there have been two great revolutions in human life, human history, human thought, that we have to face, out of which a new world has been born—a new era begun, into which we are now entering. One of these revolutions came by the invention of the telescope and the discovery of all that the telescope uncovered; the entire removal of the old ideas of cosmogony, the opening out of the infinite system, or systems of the heavens and all that it meant to the complete overturn of human thinking as it was a few hundred years ago. The second came only during the last century, for which preparation had been made in previous centuries, and that was the development of the microscope that found the infinitely small. By means of the scientific imagination the unseen elements of the infinitely small—the atoms of the universe—have been read, and read in such a way as to open unnumbered books, solve unnumbered problems, and turn the whole human mind into an entirely different channel.

Instead of the despot of a God we have found a Father. Of course, that is not new, but it is scientific to-day as it never was before. Instead of the creationism of an infinite workshop we have the development out of the infinitely small into the infinitely large, and a great law of evolution running through the whole into which we fit, which we want to understand; and the more we understand it the better we can understand both the infinitely large and the infinitely small in every department of being. Take those two lines of development and you have the discovery of the greatness of everything that man touches in this world, and the line along which the Imperial thoughts of men do their work to-day instead of in the old, despotic type. I was struck with this in a wonderful way by Joseph Chamberlain's remark in speaking about the different elements in our great

Empire. He said: "The thing that will hold us together and make us strong is simple self-sacrifice—getting to understand wherein we can give up something in order that we may gain something larger for ourselves and for a very great many more." The infinitely small superficially appears to rest upon the infinitely great; the individual upon the whole. On the other hand, the whole rests upon the unit; and it is the development of the unit and the combination of the units to-day that will make the whole whatever it is. So that we want to have citizenship developed in the unit, and that citizenship made Imperial in its sweep.

A man is measured by the self-conscious citizenship of his life, the world that he recognizes as his world, and, on the other hand, a citizen is what a man can translate out of the world in which he lives into his own personality and power at home. Let me analyze that. I belong to all that is under my hat; that is a little empire in itself, with all its powers. I want to bring together and understand the laws whereby they can all be unified into one. No man can live alone; there are others round about him who are just like himself; and, to leap over a great many other points where one might stop, we have a municipality. Every man in the municipality is neighbour to other men; there are some things that are mine, and some things that are thine, and some that are ours together. Every unit ought to understand what things are ours and what are the other man's, and wherein we blend the one with the other to make the municipality what it ought to be. The individual gives up something in order to gain that which everybody gains by unity, and the municipality is the result. Then each municipality touches on other municipalities. In order to reach a larger whole these municipalities, perhaps, give up something in order to combine the whole into one great province. Another development occurs, another set of ideas; some things are left behind that are not brought into the provincial parliament or the provincial thought, but if a man stay simply as a municipal man he is parochial. The province combines with other provinces in

the Dominion; each province may give up something, but they combine in certain great common ideals and projects, impossible to a single province, and unite for a common good; the Dominion is born, and you have a situation for the development of a citizen who has expanded out of the parochial and provincial into a national man.

Go on a little further and you find in the midst of this great Empire—that has been brought together by a certain line of historical development under the Providence of God—one nation not, perhaps, touching the other, but distant, apart. Yet there are common elements all related to one great common centre and related to each other with common ideals, combining in one great whole of thought that which is not to be found inside of a municipality or a province or a nation by itself. Thus the Empire becomes a united entity, built on an ideal, and productive of a larger type of man. For this new type of man there is a larger ideal and a larger work in the great whole of the planet in which we find ourselves, and thus an Imperial consciousness is awakened in each individual. There you have the elements that go to make up a real Imperial citizenship in so far as the purely political side of the question may go. And just here I might say that every one of us, as Canadians, or citizens from any other of the nations combined in the Empire, when we come to realize the advantages that we have as a part of the Empire, it is not for us to try to shirk any of the responsibilities that ought naturally to come upon us, but to take hold of the question and study it from the Imperial standpoint, and also from the position that we hold in the Empire, in order to carry out to the fullest all that really ought to be expected of us.

There you have an outline of the idea; and, beyond that, of course, you have also the fact that as an Empire we are in connection with other Empires in the great whole of this planet and of humanity; and in the same sense that we are combined as nations in one great Empire, giving up certain things for the advantage of the whole and gaining thereby a larger mutual advantage

from others with whom we are in contact, so, also, beyond the interior relations of the nations within our Empire, there will be the cultivating of the friendliest relationship with all the Empires of the earth, and, in so far as possible, combining one with the other to make one great international whole. In some things we have been —are to-day—combined. Financial, educational and other questions go not only through our own Empire, but through other nations of the earth. On every line possible we ought to cultivate the spirit of co-operation and mutual helpfulness, and by that means I believe we will solve the question of war and militarism. Those things will pass away when we can look each other in the face and talk as brothers. With the growth of internationalism of this type, little by little the spirit that has created the militarism and the antagonism now to be found in so many lines beween nation and nation will pass away, and a real brotherhood will be the result.

Every step in this process that I have indicated implies a certain amount of giving up on our part. As Joseph Chamberlain said, "a certain amount of self-sacrifice;" but in every case the giving up has always involved a very much greater amount of advantage to us every step of the way. The further we go in the same direction the more we make the idea of co-operation Imperial, and carry it out into the relations of one Empire with another; the sooner we will come to that time when millions—thousands of millions—of dollars will be saved for human betterment that are now spent on militarism, and otherwise absolutely wasted, because we look at each other as enemies instead of as friends.

Then the other side of the thought is this: That the development along which everything is now moving and tending—in the touch of one nation with another, in the advance of higher thinking, of literature, and financial arrangements, and commerce, and missions, I may say also—indicates that in every way the world is getting to be very close together. All the tendencies of the times are toward the development, not of an imperial emperor, not of an imperial aristocracy, not of imperial princely

men of money, that shall dominate others as the permanent end or ultimate goal of man, but everything points to the development of the individual man to lift the lowest out of the slums and let them understand that if they are citizens of one little spot in an empire they are citizens of the empire as a whole. The very education in that idea, if we could bring it home to our young men, to our schools, to our young fellows that are coming to their majority and just going out into political life, will make them realize that political life means a very great deal more than merely voting as their fathers voted or for "the party"; they will see that they are citizens of an Empire with all these different strata of activities into which every individual has a right to enter; and, if he does not enter, he is shirking the duty of life and losing that which will make him the largest kind of a man.

We want to emphasize the possibilities of this development of our young men in our citizenship of the present day, so that they shall not be simply workers in sectional lines of reform, temperance, church propaganda, or social ideals; or, on the other hand, become mechanical parts of the machinery of one political party or the other, where a man is made to feel that he belongs to a section rather than to the whole. What we want to do is to develop the fact of the individual citizen having not only rights and duties and privileges running through from the municipality in which he lives, through the province and the Dominion and the Empire and throughout the world. If we can only do that, as Mr. Balfour said a little while ago—I give this quotation perhaps not verbally, but it struck me at the time, and I think I can give you the idea—"If we could get every individual to realize his share of responsibility for the Empire we would do more to enlarge the sweep of the human mind and the uplift of human character than all the books he could read." The Imperial idea of citizenship is a life of personal effort for largest service. Get the idea into the mind of the young man as he is blooming into manhood that there is something more before him than making a

little money, or making a home, or living within the narrow range in which he is found, or that his great work on this earth is to get out of it as soon as possible and away to heaven.

Get every young man to realize that the whole universe is round about him, with forces to develop manhood within him that shall express itself in personality and in municipal affairs, in provincial affairs, in Dominion affairs, in Imperial affairs, in affairs that touch the world. To teach men to look at every little thing from that large standpoint will create a magnificent type of man, and solve a thousand difficulties that otherwise would be unsolvable. The other day I noticed a quotation from Principal Hutton in an article that he wrote to the *University Magazine*. I did not see the original, but I was very much struck with the quotation. It referred to Canadian citizenship and the development of the Imperial spirit in Canada, the situation in North America as between the United States—an independent nation that threw off the "yoke" of Great Britain—and Canada, which still remains as a Colony under the Crown. Plato looks at these conditions from his distance, and he says that the type of citizenship that you can develop in a Colony, of faithfulness and patience and loyalty, were very different things from the aggressive, manly, strengthening, virile forces that you develop in an independent land that has thrown off a yoke, and where men feel that they are absolutely free to develop something on their own lines. That was Plato's idea. The question in my mind is: Is it necessary for Canada to have a rebellion and a war and bloodshed and struggle and a division from the old mother and the family of nations in which we find ourselves in order to develop a real, large, high-toned, aggressive type of Canadian citizenship? And my feeling is that we need nothing of the sort.

I believe that it is possible for us to develop here in Canada those virile, manly, large powers that will make the strongest kind of an Empire by simply enlarging the scope of our thinking and getting ourselves and our

young men to understand the heritage into which we have entered, and the splendid development that lies before us if we will only prepare for it and learn how to understand the times in which we live and the opportunities that are at hand, and to lay hold of these things so as to develop what we have into what it might be and must be with the highest kind of intelligence; with practical work on the line of citizenship, for the locality in which we live, and for every stage in that larger whole in which we are citizens. Every one of us should take part, and throw in all that we can contribute, and if each man contributes only a little, that will not be the only result, for every effort of every man to think imperially will raise that man; and to thousands on thousands that are thinking that way there will come a greater manhood and a larger worth for the very place in which we live.

I would like to refer for a few minutes to this question of the unemployed. I am an independent man, looking at this not from the standpoint of the unemployed, although in order to understand it one has to try to put himself in the place of the under-dog; nor do I understand it perfectly from the standpoint of the financier and of those who have control of the development of affairs in this Canada of ours. I am trying to look at it from the standpoint of a thinker, with absolute sympathy for everybody; and from this Imperial standpoint, and the larger standpoint, if possible, of the human race, I would like to see a great many people in Toronto who have the means and have the knowledge put their minds together in this Imperial way and try as far as possible to solve this question. The situation at present appears to be a labour problem, involving the lower strata of workers; but there is a certain element in the movement preparing for better things. The more it becomes intelligent and expresses its wants the better. It is bad, of course, if it goes to extremes; but there is this about it, all the trouble of the labour side of the unemployed, from the high-class, well-paid men down to the lowest, is becoming more and more a national, an

Imperial, an international question, until all other lines are effaced and labour stands for itself, a world-force to be reckoned with.

On the other hand, the financial world is not confined to one place. I have been noticing lately the published reports of your banking system, and a certain amount of thinking has come to my mind. It is not simply Toronto, Ontario, the Dominion, the Empire, but the wide world is one great world of finance; and I have been wondering, as I look at these reports, if there is not a something in connection with it that is rather on the line of a suction pump that sucks the wealth up and up where it will stay, and the more a man has, or an institution has, the bigger power it has to suck up, to hold, and to multiply, instead of having some means of suction up and suction down, producing a circulation that would make things a little better all round. If there were only a way out of the upper regions down into the lower places, so that the multitudes would not be sucked dry, but have an opportunity of getting and giving, there would surely be a better chance to cultivate a higher type of citizenship out of what are now derelicts of men. I would like you to look at that question, and see if you cannot take hold of it, and solve it in an Imperial fashion.

THE MENACE OF SOCIALISM.

Address by MR. E. J. KYLIE, M.A., of Toronto University, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 4th, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am afraid this is a rather alarmist subject which I present to you to-day. Perhaps you will feel that it is too alarmist, too much of a scare headline, so to speak, because, as a matter of fact, socialism is as yet not a very great factor in Canadian life. But, as you are well aware, in the older countries of Europe—in Germany, Belgium, Italy and France—socialism is steadily advancing in influence and in numerical strength, and you must have been struck the other day by the fact that a full socialist programme had been accepted at the British Trades and Labour Congress. I am well aware that the majority was a small one, but the vote marks the end of a long struggle, and disproves the contention that the English workingman is by nature an individualist.

I think I may take it for granted that socialism, if not in Canada at least elsewhere, is a powerful movement. That does not prove, however, that it is a menace. Perhaps, indeed, socialism, like a disease, is the more dangerous the less clearly it is understood. So that, even at the risk of dispelling some of its terrors, I must try to help you understand it. Socialism, in essence, means either robbery or religion. I discard for the moment all the definitions as to its means and measures. Socialism means, in essence, either robbery or religion. As it is proclaimed by the ordinary street orator, it means robbery, it means confiscation, it means the plunder of the rich for the benefit of the poor. This kind of socialism, which I denominate as robbery, is justified—for every movement, however irrational, must have some intellectual basis—by the economic theories of Carl Marx.

According to the economic theories of Carl Marx, the value of every article, say of this glass, is determined by the amount of labour put into it; hence the value of this glass can be compared with the value of this knife by the relation between the amount of labour put into the manufacture of the articles. The value of every article is determined by the amount of labour consumed in it. But over and above that real value of every article is the difference, the surplus, between the real value and the market, or selling price. That surplus value goes, not to the labourer who makes the real value of the article, but to the capitalist who organizes labour and controls the instruments of production. Logically, according to this, there should be no surplus value, but if there is any, it obviously should go to the labourer.

That is all very simple, but it leaves us asking one or two main questions. In the first place, what is labour? Is it merely manual toil—work with the hands? There are very few of my audience at the present moment who do work with their hands, and yet they would reject with scorn the accusation of idleness. But if labour is all work, then how is the labour-value of this glass to be compared, say, with the labour-value which our President here is devoting to the orthography of the word "labour" itself? How are these various sorts of labour to be compared? Can anything determine their worth but demand? Further (I shall not detain you very long with these questions), let me ask, what is capital? What is this silent, fluid thing, gaining strength and volume from infinite, hidden sources, which sweeps resistlessly into every new enterprise? Is it not the saving, the thrift, or the fruit of the thrift, of all the people? Is it not greater than any capitalist, or group of capitalists, who simply try to swing and guide it into their own channels? The startling truth is that, as a result of the growth of stock companies, more and more capital is actually held by the working classes. Capital and labour are not, and cannot be, divorced.

If, however, the economic defence of popular socialism

is weak, its moral supports are strong. It is largely an emotional or sentimental movement. It arises out of the natural yearnings of the human heart. The toilers who work with their hands everywhere—educated enough to be disillusionized, and deprived too often of other consolation, forced to endure, if not oppression at least the constant spectacle of wealth misused—are rising up in their might to shake off the yoke. There can be no question about that. They mean war; and the weapon is not any longer the bow or the arm of the individual, but the ballot-paper. They mean war, revolution. In their view, if society is turned upside down, turned over, what is at present a rough, uneven surface will become smooth and even. I need scarcely dwell on the absurdity of the view from every intellectual standpoint, but there it is, and there is the menace of this popular socialism—the hope that society, turned over by means of revolution, will be smooth and even. That is the first and most serious menace of popular socialism.

But I must ask you not to attempt to meet this menace by oppressive measures. You cannot kill a fallacy by persecution any more than you can destroy a ghost by cremation. You can meet it only by argument. Best of all, you can deprive socialism of its sentimental and moral strength by real sympathy. So far I have dwelt exclusively upon the real menace or danger of this popular socialism, this uprising of the masses, this warfare of class and class, which in the end must mean rebellion. No permanent society can be based upon robbery or confiscation.

Contrasted with this popular socialism, with this socialism of the street, is intellectual socialism, which I have denominated as religion. The relation between the two resembles the relation between popular science and real science, between popular hygiene and real hygiene. And I must ask you again not to despise intellectual socialism because you consider popular socialism, in all its forms, menacing and ridiculous. I venture on a rather daring statement, perhaps, but we do not reject

the principles of Christianity because we are not satisfied with all the human embodiments of it. Socialism, like science, is a changing thing—constantly shifting its base. This popular socialism is the slough which is cast off by intellectual socialism in its development. This intellectual socialism, for which, as you will perceive, I have very great sympathy, is a religion, is a creed, a faith, a belief in the future of mankind as an ideal democracy.

In that democracy government and law will depend ultimately on the mass of the people, and that mass of the people, that body of the people, will be lifted up by the equal opportunities for advancement afforded to every member of it. Out of that level body of the people afforded these equal opportunities will arise those who, by service to the State, must be distinguished with different rewards. Equality of opportunity and inequality of reward is the creed of the intellectual Socialist. Logically, our present society, an individualist society, should offer equal opportunities to every individual, or should at least try to do so. Individualism has no other justification. If it does not offer an equal chance to the individual, it fails in my judgment. As a matter of fact, wealth, influence, property, education even, are transmitted in our society from father to son, from generation to generation, and the result is that in our present society (perhaps less as it is constituted here than in older countries) barriers of education, morals even, and manners and traditions, are erected between class and class, and it is a comparatively rare thing for a man to leap over those barriers.

It is said that out of 1,000 people who die in Great Britain, 941 leave less than 200 pounds. I am not concerned with the 941. They are dead. But I am concerned very much with the children of the 941 in their struggle with the children of the 59. One answer is, "Pension them off." That is what is done in the Old Country; but I do not think anyone accepts that as a final solution of the difficulty. Would

it not be fairer to start those people nearer a level than to conduct them gently to the grave? It is with the object of putting people as nearly as possible on an equality that the intellectual Socialist, the Socialist for whom socialism is a religion, is prepared to take over all property. That property he will lease out on leases terminable with the life of the lessee. Or he would even venture to have the State undertake the perhaps almost impossible task of production and distribution. Of course I admit that economically this seems impossible, but there are a few things to remember. At the present time we do not allow complete liberty of production. We check production by our Factory Acts, by our conservation of national resources. We do not allow perfect liberty of consumption. Only the other day we cut off that liberty; we infringed upon it to a very great degree in this city, by our bill, or motion, or by-law, for the reduction of licenses.

In economic theory every individual should have the freest liberty of buying whatever he wishes, no matter how destructive it may be to himself. We put the welfare of the community above the interests, or what seem to be the interests, of the individual in this case. We abandon out and out the economic theory. The problem of distribution it is harder to solve. The goods of the world are distributed by the simple medium of price. As soon as prices fall and no profits follow, the salesman withdraws his goods from the market. The Socialist State will have to regulate, to adjust I should rather say, the supply to the demand. I see no way of doing that, but the Socialist will answer that he will reward effort, and further that he will reward disagreeable labour at a higher rate than agreeable labour. That means, in other words, that the people who dig the drains and construct the railways in the Socialist State will be rewarded at a higher rate than those who perform the comparatively agreeable tasks discharged by most of my friends before me.

The interest of that question (and I want to digress

for a moment) is very great, because as a matter of fact we are failing before the task of getting the disagreeable work of the world done. Who are going to build our railways and dig our drains in another generation? We have used, hitherto, the inhabitants of Southern Europe, but they are becoming less and less available, and some of us are demanding Oriental labour. We recognize that we must bring on new supplies. Ultimately, we shall have to accept the fact that we must educate all the people and then trust to their public spirit, to improved machinery, to get the disagreeable work of the world done. That is precisely the position of the intellectual Socialist; with that object in view he would attempt to reward this disagreeable labour at a higher rate than agreeable labour. He would substitute for private ownership, practically speaking, public ownership.

There again it is not likely that in the future history of the race private ownership will be completely abandoned. The question remains: Is the motive of acquisition, is the motive behind private property, the highest, the ultimate motive for the race? That is the question the Socialist is trying to answer. The Socialist is anxious to transfer the struggle for existence from the purely economic sphere, if that struggle must go on. He would assume that finally the economic struggle should go by the board, and that men should put into competition for public service the same energy, the same selfishness, which characterizes at present their struggle for gain. Is that hoping too much, that men will in the end rise to something higher than the simple motive of acquisition? Well, a great deal of the best work in the world is at present done out of far other considerations than those of private gain. Similarly, the intellectual Socialist would substitute for current ideas of liberty, which make it mean self-assertiveness or right of aggrandizement; he would substitute for these false notions the true idea of liberty as harmony with the State.

I dare say this sketch of the religious Socialist looks to you rather hazy, like romancing, very vague. As a matter of fact, its safety lies in its vagueness. So long as it is vague, and talks about devotion to the State, and the rest, I do not think anyone can quarrel with it. Its danger begins when it descends to details. The Socialist, not satisfied with urging his ideals, begins to work them out in great detail for the whole community. There his difficulties begin, and the danger of intellectual socialism appears. No one can determine in detail what future society will be any more than you can determine what kind of knowledge man will ultimately acquire.

There is a second aspect of this danger; this conception is entirely a matter of spirit, of public spirit, but the Socialist is inclined, even the intellectual Socialist, to trust too much to the letter, to the law. You know just as well as I do that the authors of the French Revolution were sincere believers in liberty, but as soon as they began to force that upon everybody; to placard the walls and the streets with "liberty and equality," liberty and equality disappeared; the liberty and equality in the French Republic of to-day are too often a mockery and a sham. That is the point. Liberty and equality, all things of that sort, are not names, but principles, with which one must start.

Lastly, even this kind of socialism attaches too much importance to the State, too much importance to the community, too much importance to the thought of "all." That is very dangerous, it seems to me. It emphasizes what is really, of course, at the bottom a false antithesis between the State and the individual. We over-emphasize the individual. The Socialist attaches too much importance to the State. Suppose I lived in a Socialist State, and wished to secure an article, the manufacture of which I knew was dangerous to the workers. Could I put the burden of deciding that upon the State, even a Socialist State? Could I do that? Would not the responsibility of buying that article depend as much upon me, in a Socialist State, as it does now? Must not the conscience of the individual agree

ultimately with the conduct or the conscience of the State? Is not that the solution? Is the Socialist not laying too much stress upon the community, where, I admit, we are laying too much stress upon the individual? To trust so entirely to the State, as does this religious socialism, seems to me to constitute an actual menace.

Those are the main dangers of socialism from its two aspects, whether you consider it as robbery and confiscation or as religion, or both.

Perhaps I ought to say a word in conclusion about the practical measures which, it seems to me, we should be perfectly safe to adopt. There is no doubt that laws and institutions do help to promote morality. We must allow the letter to express the spirit. There is a great deal in assisting social movements by active reforms. I should favour, along with Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the extension of profit-sharing as the solution of the economic difficulties. I know that these attempts, conducted for the most part by thoroughly unselfish employers, are often met with distrust and suspicion, but this should not destroy faith in their value.

As a second practical measure I should very strongly urge the acceptance, the belief in, free education. I do not see any other means of providing that equal opportunity which is necessary, inevitable, in democracy, than free education. Education must be the flail to separate the wheat from the chaff. You say, "We agree: we accept that." But do you? We are face to face with what we conceive to be a reaction against education, a great doubt, indeed, in the public mind. Is that doubt justifiable? How is society going to find a way out, if it comes to distrust education? We are face to face with the problem of educating more people than we can properly handle, and the easy solution is accepted of raising the fees to reduce the number of pupils. We are at once attempting to measure intellectual things in money terms, by money measures. Does that appeal to you as the ultimate solution? Would not it be much

fairer in the interests of education if we raised our educational standards, kept our fees down to the minimum in the interests of every class, and thereby reduced our numbers? When I say free education, do not accept so readily the saying that we all believe in education.

As a last answer to the challenge of socialism, I should most clearly and firmly insist upon the responsibility of the individual to the community; that is to say, upon public service. This is no doubt a commonplace, the need for public service on the part of those who are engaged, particularly in commercial pursuits, but we cannot escape from it on that account. It seems to me that the wheel comes around again full circle, and brings us back to the responsibility of the individual. These questions of property, etc., would solve themselves if the individual was actuated by the right motives to the community; so that it rests with us, not with the Socialist, to meet the menace of socialism, to deprive the Socialists of their arms, and gain a victory by some sort of compromise, some kind of reasonable settlement between what are now, I am afraid, two extremes, State action and individual freedom.

A CANADIAN CABLE TO JAPAN; ITS COMMERCIAL AND IMPERIAL VALUE.

Address by MR. R. S. NEVILLE, K.C., of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 18th, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Some two or three years ago, in looking into the question of cable communication throughout the world, I observed that the North Pacific Ocean and the northern countries of Asia adjacent thereto are the only important parts of the commercial world which are not served by British cables. The reason for this is obvious; for the great trade of Japan is of recent date and the enormous trade between Great Britain and China has been served by cables that pass from Great Britain through the Mediterranean, Suez Canal and the Indian Ocean around to Hong Kong and Shanghai. Foreign cables of modern date then connect with Japan and Eastern Siberia.

Canada and Japan have made more progress in recent years than any other countries. The expansion of the commerce of each is phenomenal, and yet the commerce of each is in its infancy. From an international point of view Japan is young, like Canada, but in reality she is an ancient community and has a great population ready at hand to carry on all her undertakings. In her new fields of activity in Manchuria and Corea she has ample scope for her unbounded industrial, productive and expansive energy. Canada has much greater resources and is rapidly acquiring the population necessary for their development, and these two countries face each other on the North Pacific as Great Britain and Canada face each other on the North Atlantic. A great trade between this continent and Japan will rapidly develop and Canada should use every means to obtain the full share to which her geographical position and

her capability entitle her. One of these means, and a very important one, is speedy and cheap telegraphic communication, and it must be acquired if we are to compete successfully with the United States. A Canadian cable to Japan is therefore necessary to the proper development of the commerce of Canada upon the Pacific Ocean, and a glance at the map would indicate that the North Pacific is the one part of the world peculiarly suited for Canadian enterprise and development.

For some years, too, we have been discussing the question as to how we can contribute something which would be of advantage to the Empire, and, at the same time, consistent with our much-vaunted autonomy. This project gives us an opportunity; for the cable would be under Canadian control and would be of immense benefit to the commerce of Great Britain with the northerly countries of Eastern Asia; it would also complete an all-British line of telegraphic communication between Great Britain and her Eastern ally; and would be the only all-British line between the two countries. It would be the shortest and cheapest of all the lines for commercial use, and in time of war it would be hard for European enemies to reach. Besides, there would be no stations in mid-ocean on either the Atlantic or Pacific which would be open to attack, and it is very difficult to cut a cable lying on the bottom of the deep sea. It would be, therefore, the safest from interruption in time of war of all the lines in existence; and if Great Britain and Japan were called upon to fight side by side pursuant to the terms of the Treaty between them, this line would be the means of directing the combined operations of the fleets and armies of the allies. It might be the only possible line; for the other cables would be more accessible to an enemy and could be easily cut and communication interrupted.

It has been predicted that the next great international struggle will be in the Pacific. That struggle has been so far put off through the wise diplomacy of Great Britain and through the Japanese alliance, and we know

that Great Britain is using all the means in her power to secure the peaceful development and international stability of all the countries which border upon the greatest of our oceans. Nevertheless, it is a danger-zone, and British interests in that part of the world are so enormous that apart altogether from the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, Great Britain could hardly be an idle spectator while other nations fought for the great prizes, commercial and territorial, that, without British interference, other nations might win. One may safely conclude, therefore, that both in peace and war; for offence, for defence, and for commerce; a Canadian cable to Japan would be a worthy contribution to the strength and interests of the whole Empire, while, at the same time, it would be most of all valuable to develop Canada's own legitimate North Pacific trade.

The cost would not be great. The world's submarine cables, long and short, have cost about $800 a mile. Deep sea cables alone have averaged higher. The American cable to the Philippines, 6,912 miles, cost $12,000,000, but on account of its great length it had to be laid in sections, necessitating stations at different islands and a number of expensive "shore ends." Shore ends, of course, are very costly and often extend many miles out from land before they reach water deep enough to ensure the cable's safety from injury through the action of the tides. Besides, a long section of the American cable was laid over a mountainous bottom, which added greatly to the expense. The cable from Vancouver to Australia has also several stations; but it cost only about $1,100 a mile. A Canadian cable to Japan would require no intervening stations, and the British Admiralty charts, giving the soundings, show the bottom of the North Pacific to be favourable for cable laying. It is practically certain, therefore, that the cable would be cheaper than the Australian cable. Probably $1,000 a mile would cover the cost, and by taking the nearest points between Canada and Northern Japan, or possibly the Kurile Islands, the distance could be reduced to less than the length of the span of the

Australian cable between Vancouver and Fanning Island, 3,600 miles, which is now the longest distance between stations in any operating cable. The Japanese Government would be interested and, no doubt, would wish to control all connections from the main landing station to their system of land lines of telegraph. Canada's expense would end with the first Asiatic station. Indeed, if Japan were approached she would probably agree to share the responsibility for the whole line. But assuming that Canada should pay all the cost, a single line could be built for less than $5,000,000.

Apart from the national and imperial benefits derived, the cable ought to be a good investment. It would be thousands of miles shorter than the line of communication from San Francisco, via Honolulu, Guam and the Philippines or Bonin, to Japan. Not only, therefore, would the initial cost be much less, but it would be much speedier and therefore cheaper to work. The speed of a cable is in inverse ratio to the square of the distance, and for this reason every cable on the Atlantic between Great Britain and this continent, whether British or American, has its American landing station in Canada or Newfoundland. A direct line to the United States was once projected, but the company was forced to change its plans and land in Canada because a long cable cannot compete with a short one. The Canadian line across the Pacific would have the same advantage, and for the same reason must attract most of the business from all parts of North America to Japan. It must be remembered, too, that the business of all the north-eastern Asiatic mainland with this continent would be gathered to this line over the Japanese Government and other foreign cables. A second line would probably soon be required, but only when business demanded it, and had grown large enough to make it profitable. The more the better as long as the lines pay.

I shall not take your time to consider the life of a cable, its maintenance and its renewals. These, however, can be approximately determined from the experience of existing cable companies throughout the world. I

need only say that the character of the bottom of the North Pacific Ocean is favourable to long life and economy in repairs. Nor will I venture to discuss the question of public ownership. But it must be noted that the public ownership of a cable between distant parts of the same Empire is a question quite distinct from public ownership of a line between different nations. It has been found that it is easier for a private company to obtain facilities for doing business in foreign countries than for Government agents to do so. Foreign Governments are shy of political telegraph lines. But if a private company is to build and operate a cable the Government should make sure, when it grants it landing rights, or a subsidy or guaranty of any kind, that the landing stations are located where they can be defended in time of war; that there shall be an agreed efficiency of construction and service; that Government messages shall have priority and reduced rates; that the rates shall be subject to the International Telegraph Convention; that the Government may operate the line in time of war, subject to compensation; that the line shall be controlled by British subjects, and that the contract shall not be assigned or sublet without the Government's consent.

I have in my possession a sketch of the Pacific Ocean showing the American line from San Francisco, via Honolulu, Guam and the Philippines, to Shanghai, from which American messages have to reach Japan over a foreign line. It also shows a projected branch from the main line at Guam direct to Japan, via Bonin. It also shows the present line from Vancouver to Australia and New Zealand, and finally it shows the suggested Canadian cable to Japan with alternative landing places on the Canadian side at Vancouver and Queen Charlotte Islands and similar alternative landing places at the Japanese end, either in the Kurile Islands or in the northermost of the large islands of the Japanese Empire.

THE POSITION OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Address by the VERY REV. A. E. BURKE, D.D., LL.D., of Charlottetown, P.E.I., before the Empire Club of Canada, on February 25th, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I am sure, although I have always felt great pleasure in being an Imperialist myself, that this is the first opportunity in which I have been called upon formally to speak to men who are banded together with the prime object of propagating Imperialistic thought and Imperialistic theory, with the view, I suppose, of something practical in the end—that these component parts of the Empire might all be bound together more solidly, and that under the beneficent rule of Britain we should all arrive at that height of civilization, at that plentitude of administration which is the ideal of Anglo-Saxon communities.

I remember the story of a poor fellow who happened to be a little bit addicted to the "drop," and after being converted by the assiduous attention of his minister, on account of something or other fell by the wayside. Unfortunately, the minister happened to come round that way and found him in a state of stupour; and his minister was very much disgusted with him indeed. He said, "Sandy, what is it?" And the old fellow, waking himself up and regaining consciousness as far as he was able, replied, "I dinna ken whether it was a wedding, or whether it was a funeral, but it was a most extraordinary success." I feel a little bit like Sandy, because I am being very suddenly awakened from a kind of stupour down at my office; but I hope not from any such influence as that ascribed to the Scotchman.

So far as the Maritime Provinces are concerned, I am very glad to come from there. Although some of your people designate us as shreds and patches, we are glad to be a portion of this great Dominion, and are proud of the part our men have played in the formation

THE VERY REV. A. E. BURKE, D.D., LL.D.

The Catholic Register, Toronto.

of the Dominion. To develop their potentialities, all the Provinces of Canada must of necessity be in a state of contentment; they must feel that they are received into the family of Confederation upon some kind of amicable terms; that there is no Federal Administration which is positively against their interests provincially; in order that they themselves can in every way develop and feel that family instinct which compels them to do their best work.

In the Maritime Provinces, the two greater divisions of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick entered the Confederation with the other Provinces. My little Province, while it was the cradle of Confederation, did not enter into it when Confederation was effected first. It is true that the Fathers of Confederation came down to us at Charlottetown, because everybody knows that Prince Edward Island is one of the most beautiful parts of the Dominion—if you will excuse my humility, I would say the most beautiful part—and there Sir John Macdonald and the other Ontario leaders, seeking, I suppose a little relaxation from their politics, came to debate with Sir Charles Tupper this grand Confederation. Our people were very sympathetic with regard to it. Our leaders were delegates to the great Quebec Conference, but when Confederation was enacted we were not in the partnership of the Dominion, and we were not in it because we felt that in that great Confederation our insular interests could not be well attended to; that we could not have the means of development; could not participate in the great fiscal policy and the system of transportation which the country must necessarily have; and therefore we were by ourselves, having built a railroad for ourselves, having all that we required there, having settled our land question among the first Provinces and our currency question with all the other questions which agitated greater communities than we were; and we were perfectly happy with a low tariff of our own and able to administer our own affairs.

As with the case of Newfoundland, so it was at that time with Prince Edward Island, and Sir John Mac-

donald came back to us time and again with the invitation that we should enter the Confederation, and when our delegates came back and our Parliament refused to enter upon the terms which were then accorded, a new proposition was made to us again and again. And lastly, when, after the persistent efforts of Sir George Etienne Cartier, we undertook to listen to the voice of the siren, terms of union were made for us which were altogether special in our case. We felt that communication with this mainland was necessary whereby we could participate in the great life of this continent; that every portion should have one system, one sufficient and exact system of communication whereby the commercial interests and the other interests of the country could be properly served. So far as we were concerned, we were an island. We said we would not come into the Confederation unless they could take away that insularity of ours.

Sir George Etienne Cartier declared that he would do everything possible for us, give us better monetary terms; but as to the communication, we were anxious to have more specific terms and, ultimately, we came in under a most specific term indeed; yet the letter of that term and even the spirit of that term have not yet been carried out. Our people were still diffident, and they said to these people proposing union, "How are you going to be able to give to this Province that system of daily communication which you promise to us and without which we will not be able to participate in the life-stream of the Dominion?" Cartier said to us, "Come in; there is nothing impossible to the Privy Council of Canada." And everybody knows that the Privy Council of Canada is a powerful body when it wishes to do anything in the interests of the country; when it has motive sufficient to do those things which appear gigantic it finds it is easy to overcome them; and some of the greatest works of the world have been carried out by this little, young Dominion of ours.

We went into Confederation under specific terms. That arrangement reads in these words, and is embodied in our constitution: "That the Dominion of Canada

shall assume and defray the charges for sufficient steam service for the conveyance of mails and passengers, to be established and maintained between the Island and the mainland, winter and summer; thus placing the Island in continuous communication with the Intercolonial Railway and the railway systems of the Dominion." We have gone in under that compact. We have been in from 1873 to this year of grace 1909, and we are largely in the same position to-day as we were when we came in. There has been improvement in the matter of navigation, but navigation will never effect the terms of Confederation, and consequently you have heard from time to time, perhaps you have heard my own name connected with it, of a project which we believe the only salvation of our Province, and which will fulfil the terms of the Confederation under which we came into the Dominion. I speak of the great tunnel project which has been talked of for a long time, and which is another tunnel to an island beside the one which you in Toronto have built to an island. I remember the last time I was here, passing through the city, I read in one of your daily papers the headline, "The Tunnel to be Built to the Island," and my heart palpitated with joy. The first thing I knew it was something my friend Mr. Haney was doing in order to give the people of Toronto a greater amount of water to mix with the other things they were taking.

In Prince Edward Island we feel that the terms of Confederation can never be carried out by navigation. We have had upon that point a great many Committees of the House of Commons, who have from time to time adjudicated upon this matter, and in the Session of 1883 we had the Report of a Committee of the House then composed of three representatives from Prince Edward Island, two from the mainland, and other representatives of the House. All members of this Committee had special knowledge of the obstruction to navigation in the Straits by ice in the winter and spring seasons and were qualified for the Report which they made. After a long and careful consideration of the subject, the examination of persons, papers and records, the Committee reported on

the 18th of April, 1883, in the following words: "It is the unanimous opinion formed by the testimony of witnesses of large practical experience that no steamship can be built capable of keeping up continuous communication in mid-winter."

How have the Government attempted to carry out their terms of the Union? We have been in conflict from the time we entered into Confederation. We have had to make addresses to the King (the Queen it was in those days); we have had to pass Minutes in Council; to send delegations to the Court of St. James, and, after one delegation there, when our own Premier and a member of the Cabinet, who is now Senator Ferguson of the Dominion Senate, had attended and made representations, the Earl Granville wrote back and declared that it was necessary that the Dominion Government should do something to carry out these terms of Confederation; that British Columbia had entered under particular terms, with only a very sparse population, but because the honour of the Dominion had been pledged the Government had spanned the whole continent with steel railways and the Canadian Pacific Railway had been built; and stated that it would be a good thing, in order to carry out the spirit and intent of the terms of Confederation with Prince Edward Island, if something of the same kind should be done.

I will read the extract from Lord Granville's Report: "There seems to be reason for doubt whether any satisfactory communication by steamships can be regularly maintained all the year round, which makes it all the more important that the proposed tunnel should receive full and favourable consideration on the part of the Government of Canada. The establishment of constant and speedy communication by rail would be a great advantage to the Province and the Dominion, and I should propose that the development of the traffic on the Island railway and of the capabilities of the Province generally should produce a great direct return on the expenditure. It would reflect credit on the Dominion Government if, after connecting British Columbia by the Canadian Pacific

Railway, it should now be able to complete its system of railway communication by an extension to Prince Edward Island."

Because of these words the first real steamer of any consequence was built. That steamer was called the "Stanley," was built in 1888, and she commenced and plied for a time and gave us hope that ultimately we might effect a successful system of communication between the Province and the mainland. At the nearest point of contact we have six and a half miles, more or less, of distance, but it is not there that the communication takes place in winter. It is between Georgetown and Pictou that these boats ply, a distance of some forty miles, and at certain seasons of the year, when the ice becomes congested, it is impossible for any steamship to go through it. If they make them so tremendously heavy they will not be able to operate. We have three steamers, a great one being built at a cost of half a million of dollars, and we have every day reports that the Island has been for weeks without communication. In 1905, when I myself, with some others, came from my Province to represent our claims, appointed by the people of my Province, we had been some sixty days without communication with the mainland; and that when we had the best steamers for the purpose of ice-breaking that could be made. If we built them heavier then they would not have water enough to operate in. It has come to be the conviction of every man who thinks, that this steamship communication can never solve the question. The great project of the tunnel, if taken up, would relieve the grievances of that Province.

What has been done on the line of the tunnel? We had in our country a patriotic man who not only believed in his own Province and had a great share in its material advancement, who was a representative in the Senate of Canada—the late Senator Howlan, afterwards Governor —and he it was who, in the first place, thought out this matter of a tunnel. It was thought to be an enormous project altogether and as something we could not practically think of. However, he brought it up to a practical

stage in which the Government made a grant, and borings were made in the Strait. The whole bottom of the Strait was examined, and then the geologists began boring so that they would find out the kind of formation through which the tunnel was to be pushed, and the late Principal Dawson and some other gentlemen, who were well qualified to undertake the case, discovered that the formation was the most acceptable and suitable possible for this construction. We know that tunnels are being pushed everywhere. Down there we have a natural locus for a tunnel. It can be built at a cost of $10,000,000, and we have your own tunnel builder here, Mr. Haney, who says that he will build it any day for that sum, and if he does that and if we make the expenditure I think the people of every part of the Dominion will see that it should be taken up as quickly as possible and pushed to a favourable conclusion. There have been certain borings made, but some say they are not sufficient, and I understand from Sir Wilfrid Laurier that he will undertake to see that that system of examination is completely carried out, with the end, we hope, that in a short time the tunnel will be commenced.

We have in that whole system of steamship communication an expenditure, besides what the Province has secured from the Dominion, of some $998,500 and we have a contra-account against the Dominion of $300,000, and about $30,000 for up-keep, which would make $330,000, leaving a difference to the Government, if they built the tunnel, of about $600,000 a year. That being the case, I do not see, from a business point of view, why we do not have the tunnel. Sir Charles Tupper and Sir John Macdonald, when they were in power, gave us great encouragement on this question, especially before elections. I need not mention that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was as big a sinner as any of them on this point. There is a copy of a letter in which he says, "I have your favour of Feb. 2, and I hardly thought that an expression of opinion as to the construction of a tunnel to connect the Island with the mainland should be required. Every man who has given any attention to the considera-

tion of things, to the necessities involved by the Island's entering into Confederation, must admit that such a tunnel must be constructed if the thing is reasonably practicable. The first thing is to make the ordinary investigations and form an estimate." He has had plenty of time, and I hope these debts of honour will be paid; that Prince Edward Island as an integral part of this Dominion will have what she went into Confederation for, and that every man here will help to make us a contented part of this Confederation.

There are a great many other things which I could say upon this question of communication, but I know that I should not take up any more of your time. I have had a sympathetic audience before me, and anything I have said for my little Province, anything that can be done which will make it contented, will be the same thing as when you have in your own bodies any ills. When one of the members suffers, all the members suffer. Even though Prince Edward Island is a small Province, when it suffers then we have discontentment in other places, and I may say that the fact that the Island which forms a Province has not been as contented as she might be under her Confederation terms may have had something to do with the aloofness of that other grand island which we would like to see in this Confederation as quickly as possible, so that all might go to form a great Empire.

THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

An address by MR. J. M. CLARK, M.A., LL.B., K.C., before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 1st, 1909.

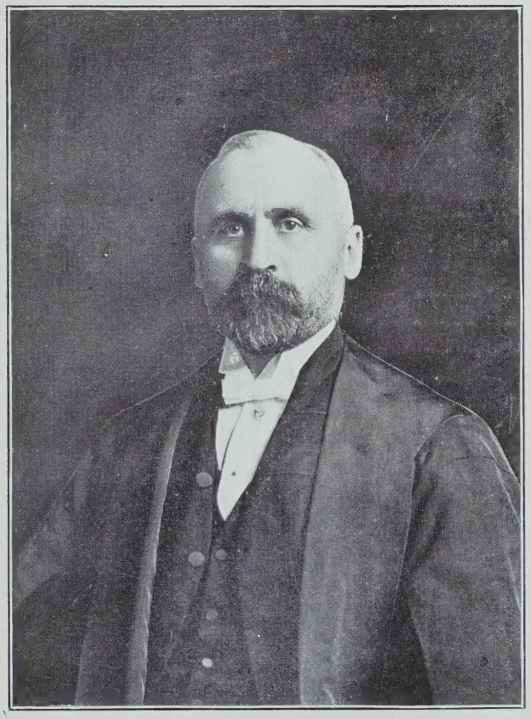
Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Canadians have cordially joined in the celebrations of the centenary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, one of the truly great men of the nineteenth century. How far from attaining his noble ideals of justice and liberty have been the people of the United States is sufficiently indicated by recalling the significant fact that, only a short time ago, innocent men, instead of being permitted to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, were cruelly lynched in Lincoln's own town. Observers have frequently remarked on the notable contrast between the administration of justice in the mining camps of Canada, and the lawlessness and uncertainty of life manifest in similar districts in the United States. These are not merely isolated instances, but symptoms of fundamental differences.

So marked indeed is the contrast between the administration of justice under British institutions and that under the United States system that President Taft recently stated that "the administration of the criminal law in all the States of the Union is a disgrace to our civilization."

In his address of the 8th December last, President Roosevelt said, "It is discreditable to us as a nation that there should be difficulty in convicting murderers."

My object is not to criticise the institutions of the United States. Many features of their constitution could be studied, and some of them copied in this country, with benefit to Canada. But I desire to point out an



Mr. J. M. Clark, M.A., L.L.B., K.C.
of Toronto.

advantage which is frankly conceded by thoughtful observers from the United States, and to urge that strenuous efforts should be put forth to maintain the advantage which the British system of the administration of justice gives us, especially as it is clearly a prime factor in making emigrants from the United States loyal Canadians and patriotic British subjects.

The difference to which I have alluded is not accidental, but part of the far-reaching consequences of causes which it is possible to ascertain.

Some, though not all, of the founders of the United States Republic were led away by the superficial philosophy which became current about the middle of the eighteenth century. That resulted, in France, in a terrible tyranny exercised in the name of liberty and culminating in a military despotism; in an equality, not the noble British ideal of equality before the law, but the equality of exposure to violence and injustice; in a fraternity which practically meant the fraternising possible in the tumbrils en route to the guillotine. Misled by vague words which did not connote realities, the people of the United States violently broke the course of the orderly development of British justice and liberty, broadening down from precedent to precedent. The development of which Dr. Broom justly says, "no weightier story can elsewhere be read, nor has any passage yet been gathered from the annals of the world yielding for the cultured intellect a nobler lesson."

The right of personal liberty, private property, and freedom of speech were secured. In England, as Tennyson well says, "a man may speak the thing he will." But the crowning glory of the British system is that men are ruled by law, not by caprice.

It has indeed been said that the distinguishing characteristic of British institutions is the rule, supremacy or predominance of law.

In an interesting article in the January number of the *Quarterly Review*, p. 302, Prof. A. V. Dicey, the latest successor of Blackstone at Oxford, says: "We inherit institutions built up by generations of statesmen and well

worth defence. Our constitution, resting as it does on the unquestionable supremacy of the civil power and the universal rule of equal law, is, with all its defects, the strongest, the freest, the most pacific—we may venture to say the most humane—form of government which has ever existed in any great State or Empire." We are apt to take what Prof. Dicey calls the universal rule of equal law as a matter of course, but it is the result of a long struggle, and can only be maintained by constant vigilance and effort. The forces which make for lawlessness in the United States are making themselves felt on this side of the boundary, and we must not take it for granted that true liberty founded on law will be continued unless the struggle is also continued.

In evolution it is said that there is always a danger of reversion to inferior types. So in matters of government there is constant danger of the usurpation of arbitrary power. Among us this is manifested largely in the expression of a desire to have matters of property and right determined according to the methods of barbarous chiefs, who tried accused persons summarily without regard to rules of evidence or technicalities of procedure, and without any expense of appeals. So that, according to current views, Mr. Hampden should have been snuffed out by the remark that the amount demanded of him as a ship-money institution did not justify the expense of the legal proceedings he occasioned, and that the costs were out of proportion to the 20s. involved.

Mill (in "Representative Government," p. 4,) says: "Political institutions (however the proposition may be at times ignored) are the work of men, and owe their origin and their whole existence to human will. Men did not wake up on a summer morning and find them sprung up, nor do they resemble trees which, once planted, are 'aye growing' while men are sleeping. In every stage of their existence they are made what they are by human voluntary agency."

During the reign of Victoria the Good, Rudyard Kipling foresaw the threatened danger of the tyranny of socialism and uttered a strong warning against the des-

potism of arbitrary power. In his poem on the "Old Issue," he said:—

"All we have of freedom, all we use or know,
This our fathers bought for us, long and long ago.
"Ancient right unnoticed as the breath we draw,
Leave to live by no man's leave, underneath the law.
"Lance and torch and tumult, steel and grey goose wing,
Wrenched it inch and all and all slowly from the King.
"So they bought us freedom, not at little cost,
Wherefore we must watch the King, lest our gain be lost.
"Howso great their clamor, whatso'er their claim,
Suffer not the old King under any name.
"Here is naught unproven, here is naught to learn,
It is written what shall follow if the King return.
"He shall mark our goings, question whence we came,
Set his guards about us as in freedom's name.
"He shall break his judges if they cross his word,
He shall rule above the law, calling on the Lord.
"He shall peep and mutter; and the night shall bring
Watchers 'neath our window lest we mock the King.
"Strangers of his council, hirelings of his pay,
These shall deal our justice, sell—deny—delay.
"Cruel in the shadow, crafty in the sun,
Far beyond his borders shall his teaching run.
"Sloven, sullen, savage, secret, uncontrolled,
Laying on a new land evil of the old.
"Long forgotten bondage dwarfing heart and brain,
All our fathers died to loose he shall bind again.
"All the right they promised, all the wrong they bring,
Stewards of the judgment, suffer not this King."

One of the crowning features of the British system under which we in Canada live is the final authority in matters of law of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or, to speak more accurately, of the King speaking on the advice of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. According to Blackstone, under the British constitution the King is the fountain of justice and general conservator of the peace of the Empire. By the fountain of justice the law does not mean the author or original, but only the distributor. Justice is not derived from the King as from his free gift, but he is the steward of the public to dispense it to him to whom it is due. Blackstone quotes Bracton for the proposition

that for this very purpose was the King created and elected, in order that he might render justice to all. *Ad hoc autem creatus et electus ut justitiam faciat universis.*

In the early days of arbitrary power monarchs sometimes decided cases personally, but it has long been settled that justice must be distributed through the regular courts. The last attempt to evade this salutary rule was that of James I., in the celebrated case of Evocation, when Coke stoutly replied to the monarch that he could only in such matters speak through his courts (*per curiam*), observing that the law was the golden metwand and measure to try the causes of subjects. In the following reign of Charles I. (in 1604) it was enacted that all questions of property, etc., "ought to be tried and determined in the ordinary courts of justice and by the ordinary courts of law."

Time would not permit to trace out the very interesting history of the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It must suffice to say that it was established in its present form in 1833 by an Act introduced by Brougham, one of the greatest of law reformers. This Act has been from time to time amended. The only one of these amendments on which we need comment is that passed in 1895, authorizing the addition of five members of the Judicial Committee from Canada, Australia and South Africa, and other parts of the British Dominions. These five must be, or have been, judges of certain specified Canadian, Australian or South African courts, or of some other superior court in His Majesty's dominions, to be named by competent authority, and must be members of the Imperial Privy Council.

The Judicial Committee is to be distinguished from the House of Lords—and by the House of Lords I mean the judicial body, not the legislative body of whose membership we have been able to judge in Toronto by such men as Morley and Milner. The judicial body known as the House of Lords is composed largely of the same judges as sit in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and has a jurisdiction defined by an

Imperial Act passed in 1876. While the judges are largely the same, there are some important distinctions between the two tribunals. In cases argued before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, while the cases are really decided by the judges who hear the argument, the order is the order of the King in Privy Council on their advice. Some important consequences follow from this. The Privy Council advises the Crown, and in doing so it is bound not to record dissentient opinion. This was provided for in 1627, and the prohibition was reaffirmed in 1878. Only one set of reasons for judgment is given. One of the greatest living authorities on jurisprudence, Sir Frederick Pollock, states as the criteria of just laws in a civilized community, "generality, equality, and certainty;" and the rule which prevails in the Privy Council, it is obvious, tends greatly to promote all these, and especially the desirable quality of certainty. The House of Lords is bound by its own decisions in accordance with the rule laid down by Blackstone, that the duty of the judge is to abide by former precedents. This rule is not binding on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which must decide in each instance according to the very right and justice of the particular case before it.

At present it is undeniable that there is among us a certain degree of superficial public clamour against appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but a short reference to our history will, I think, be sufficient to show how unjustified such clamour is. As you all know, before Confederation there was a sort of partnership between Ontario and Quebec, which constituted the old Province of Canada. The Confederation Act provided that the questions arising out of the division and adjustments of the debts, credits, liabilities, properties, and assets of Upper Canada and Lower Canada should be referred to the arbitrament of three arbitrators, one chosen by the Government of Ontario, one by the Government of Quebec, and one by the Government of Canada. After the arbitration so provided for had proceeded a certain distance, the Quebec

representative claimed that the views of the Dominion arbitrator were unduly favourable to the Province of Ontario, and refused to continue to attend the proceedings or to join in the award. Considering the consequent ill-feelings that might have been aroused by such a controversy, it was extremely fortunate that there was such a tribunal as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to whom the dispute could be referred.

It was so referred, and it is interesting to know that one of the counsel for the Province of Quebec was Mr. J. P. Benjamin, who had been Secretary of State in the Confederacy during the Civil War in the United States. Notwithstanding a very able argument by Mr. Benjamin, discussing exhaustively the basic principles of arbitration, the Privy Council decided in favour of the validity of the award. The Lord Chancellor who presided at the time was Lord Cairns, and it is worthy of note that Mr. Benjamin has put himself on record that, although he knew well the great judges of the United States and of Europe, as well as those of Britain, he considered Lord Cairns as the greatest judge before whom he had ever pleaded.

Then the older among us can recollect the tremendous excitement caused by the boundary dispute between the Province of Ontario on the one hand, and the Dominion of Canada on the other, to which the Province of Manitoba became a party. The feelings aroused by that dispute were very angry ones. There was an attempt at local arbitration, but the award of the Canadian arbitrators was repudiated. It was again fortunate that there was such a body as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to whom the dispute could be referred—a unique tribunal, weighty and authoritative, composed of eminent judges in whose ability, learning, unsuspected impartiality, and freedom from local proclivities the people of this country had, and continue to have, the utmost confidence. The whole matter was decided by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and it is curious to note that the ultimate decision was based upon the fact that what is now the Province of Ontario was formerly included in what was formerly Quebec.

Ontario in that case relied upon the French title, the Dominion relying largely upon the title of the Hudson Bay Company. The fact that our title to the rich lands of the disputed territory is traced through the French title which was transferred to Great Britain suggests at once the fact that Ontario is now enjoying the benefits of the British blood and treasure so freely expended under the inspiration of the magnificent Imperial conception of Chatham.

The taxpayers of England, Scotland and Ireland are paying the principal and interest of the consideration for the lands which we in Ontario are now enjoying. The title is still in the Crown, which is one and indivisible throughout the British Empire; but the administration of these vast assets, notwithstanding the fact that the taxpayers of the Mother Country are paying the consideration, has been handed over to the people of this province. This was in accordance with the wise and statesmanlike policy recommended by Lord Durham; but the bald recital of the facts shows that the people of Ontario hold these lands not merely for our own gratification, not merely for the benefit of the Dominion of Canada, but, above all, in trust for the whole British Empire.

We may apply to ourselves the eloquent words used by Lord Roberts in his famous speech:

"We are links in a living chain, pledged to transmit intact to posterity the glorious heritage we have received from those who have gone before."

The decision of the Privy Council, though accepted by the Dominion, did not end the dispute. The Dominion set up that while the territory in dispute had been decided to be within the boundaries of Ontario, yet that the title to the lands had been transferred to the Dominion by the Indians. This involved the whole question of the Indian title, and the relations between the Crown and the Indians. It was shown, in that case, that the British authorities had always dealt justly with the Indians; and, while they did not permit the

Indians to sell or transfer their interests to outsiders, they never dealt with lands claimed by the Indians until such lands were surrendered by the Indians by a formal contract, duly ratified in a meeting of their chiefs or headmen convened for the purpose. The decision declared, as we all know, that the lands belonged to Ontario by virtue of the British North America Act; but that, seeing that the benefit of the Indian surrender accrues to her, Ontario was directed to relieve the Crown and the Dominion of all obligations involving the payment of money which were undertaken by the treaty. The question of the liability of Ontario in this respect is at present in process of adjustment.'

Another very interesting question in regard to the relations with the Indians, called "The Indian Annuity Case," was settled by the Privy Council. In the Treaty of 1851, made at Sault Ste. Marie, the Indians were promised increases of their annuities if the lands surrendered produced funds sufficient for that purpose. At Confederation the Dominion, subject to certain provisions, assumed all the liabilities of the old Province of Canada, of which this was one; but contended that Ontario, having received the increased proceeds from the lands, must provide the funds to pay the increased annuities to the Indians. The arbitrators before whom the matter came decided that Ontario, having received the benefit of the increased proceeds from the lands, must bear the burden of the increased payments to the Indians; but the Privy Council decided that the Confederation Act might be regarded as a compact, and that the highest equity was to observe the terms of the bargain under which these increased annuities were liabilities to be paid by the Dominion.

Another notable case between the Ontario and the Dominion was the famous Mercer Case, in which the Privy Council decided that the right of escheat belonged not to the Dominion, but to the province, under the term "Royalties" in Section 109 of the British North America Act. This apparently simple decision involved consequences of far-reaching importance, as was shown

subsequently in what is known as the Precious Metal Case—a dispute between the Province of British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada, where the Royal Mines were held to belong to the province.

The Privy Council have decided many important questions, not only such as those I have referred to, dealing with questions of boundaries, assets and liabilities, but also even more important questions of legislative jurisdiction and executive power. These cases dealt with such matters as insurance contracts, liquor and other licenses, powers of taxation, legislative power over property and civil rights, and the status of the Lieutenant-Governor, who, it has been decided, represents not the Governor-General who appoints him, but the Crown, for provincial purposes. Another very interesting case dealt with the property and legislative rights of the federal and provincial authorities in regard to fisheries, and the beds of navigable and other waters. Many other constitutional problems quite as difficult and important as any that have been settled remain to be solved.

It is worthy of note that during the discussion of the bill to establish the Supreme Court of Canada it was Sir John A. Macdonald who contended for the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This bill is popularly associated with the name of that great advocate, the Hon. Edward Blake, but the records show that it was introduced by Hon. Mr. Fournier. Mr. Blake's connection with the bill was that by a series of very able state papers he persuaded the Imperial authorities not to veto the bill, as at first they were inclined to advise the Crown to do.

It is worthy of remark that the honoured dean of the legal profession in this province—Sir Æmilius Irving—took an important part in the discussion of this bill, and also in the solution of most of the constitutional problems to which I have referred. His great services, which have resulted in benefits and savings to the province amounting to many hundreds of thousands of dollars, in addition to the other results achieved, have been fittingly recognized by the King.

Before this digression, which I am sure you will pardon, I was proceeding to point out what is too well known to require argument, namely, that the earlier decisions of our Supreme Court would have rendered our constitution quite unworkable. In saying this I do not overlook the great services to Canada rendered by the Supreme Court of Canada. The Supreme Court of the United States has also done great work for that country, but on several occasions it would have been of great advantage to the United States if there had been such a body as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to whose impartial decision various disputes might have been referred.

I quite agree that our Supreme Court should be strengthened. The salaries of the judges should be a greater fraction than they are of those given to the directing heads of our great financial, transportation and business institutions. I would say that the salaries of our Supreme Court judges should at least be doubled. Without discussing the matter in detail, it can be cited as an historical fact that, as the result of a series of appeals to the Privy Council, our present system was established. Some, including the late Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Christopher Robinson, thought the Privy Council had gone too far in the direction of extending provincial jurisdiction; and it is noteworthy that their views have been largely adopted in the new draft constitution of South Africa, which has recently been submitted for consideration to the present South African legislatures. The draft Act of Union recommended by the South African National Convention provides that "there shall be no appeal from the Supreme Court of South Africa, or any division thereof, to the King in Council, but nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair any right which the King in Council may be pleased to exercise to grant special leave to appeal from the appellate division to the King in Council. Parliament may make laws limiting the matters in respect of which such special leave may be asked, but bills containing any such limitation shall be reserved by

the Governor-General for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure."

That member of the Privy Council who perhaps took more part than any other in the solution of the difficult problems submitted from Canada is described by the Right Honourable Mr. Haldane in 11 Juridical Review, 1899, page 281, where, referring to Lord Watson, he says, "with him law and justice turned out in the end to be invariably the same thing. He was a great servant of the Empire. He did much to make stronger one of the real links which binds and unites its parts. Not many of those who talk glibly about Imperial Federation took the trouble to turn into the shabby doorway at the Whitehall end of Downing Street, and go up the worn lead-covered stair, through the faded curtains, into the plainly furnished room where the supreme tribunal of the Empire sits. Had they gone there any time during the last fifteen years they would have beheld at his best one of the greatest lawyers that ever sat upon the British Bench, devoting his splendid powers to the spread throughout that Empire of faith in the justice of the Queen."

In the debate on the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Bill in the Imperial Parliament, in 1900, Mr. Haldane advocated a great Imperial Court of Appeal to take the place of the House of Lords and the Privy Council. He argued that "there is a body of common traditions, common doctrines, common tendencies, just as there is a body of common law, which is the general heritage of our Empire;" and, further on, said: "I feel that it is almost inherent in a constitution such as ours, shared by different parts of the Queen's Dominions, preserving the common elements to which I have referred, that there should be some means of a common interpretation. I feel that there is implied in our constitution, when it reaches a certain stage of development, that there should be a common tribunal which would be a real link, because it would be the property, not of one part of the Queen's Dominions nor of the people in them, but of the people throughout the Empire."

While I regard it as certain that the time will come when this magnificent ideal will be realized, I think there are other matters of Imperial organization and co-operation of more immediate and pressing importance and necessity.

If time permitted, it could be shown that the Privy Council had rendered signal service to our jurisprudence, of which I shall only give one very recent instance. The controversy between the coal and steel companies has aroused widespread interest. The judgment appealed from, granting specific performance, would have necessarily involved the superintendence of a coal mine by the courts for a period of ninety-nine years, and the maintenance of that judgment would, I think, have created a very mischievous precedent. Examples could be multiplied to show the fallacy of the argument that, even if we abolished appeals to the Privy Council, the decisions of that tribunal would still, to a certain extent, guide our courts, not by reason of Imperial power, but by the Imperial power of reason.

I would not presume to appear as in any way defending the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but it is worth while to notice that much of the local newspaper criticism is founded on a complete misapprehension of the facts. Take the King case, about which there was much comment. If anyone cared to look up the facts it would be found that what took place there was that the courts in Canada granted the defendant company a new trial. The case came before the Privy Council, and what the Privy Council did was to give leave to the plaintiff to cross appeal, and then there give a final decision that substantial justice had been done, and that the company, having had their day, to use the ancient legal phrase, the verdict of the jury should be enforced without any further trial or delay, and that the company should pay all costs.

Then we have the case of our Toronto Street Railway. Of course, in every litigation one of the two parties must be defeated. In that case, after the agreement had been made between the City and the Railway

Company, an Act was passed by the Ontario Legislature. If the object had been simply to confirm the agreement, and avoid any difficulties owing to informalities or irregularities, then the simplest principles of draftsmanship would have prevented any difficulty. The subject of the law would have been the agreement, and the only predicate necessary would have been supplied by the words "ratify and confirm." Instead of this, an Act dealing with the agreement was passed by the Legislature. The Privy Council gave effect to that statute as expressing the sovereign will of the people. The statute was a clear violation of sound principles of legislation. Mr. Justice Gwynne long ago pointed out that retroactive legislation interfering with contracts was inconsistent with true liberty. Such a power of legislation, it may be remarked by the way, though claimed, like all vicious legislation, to be in the interests of the people, will, in the nature of all things, almost invariably be against the public interest, and for the benefit of some skilful promoter or manipulator. The true conclusion from what has taken place is, therefore, not that there is any justification for an attack upon the jurisdiction of the Privy Council, but that sound principles of legislation should be observed.

Then it may be asked: Should there not be Law Reform? I say, certainly; but one of our ablest judges has shown that the term Law Reform, as currently used, is a complete misnomer. Shakespeare classed the law's delay with the insolence of office among the ills we know, etc., and prefer to those we know not of. And in the days of Queen Elizabeth, Parliament passed a statute—8 Elizabeth, c. 5 (1565)—for the avoiding, as well of long and tedious suits as also of great charges and expenses in prosecuting them, and enacted that all litigants should have such expedition in their suits as their nature and qualities do require; but that this injunction is obeyed, as far as the Privy Council is concerned, may be sufficiently indicated by the fact that before the Lord Chancellor left for his vacation last summer all arrears of work were disposed of by the

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and by the way he spent his holiday in Canada, performing the notable feat of escaping newspaper interviews, Empire and Canadian Clubs.

In the future, as in the past, modifications in the law will become necessary to meet the exigencies of modern life and modern progress. At present the most urgent matter is to remedy the loose and irregular methods in which is manifested what Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador at Washington, has designated the mania for legislation.

As every practitioner knows, many of the difficulties arising in litigation are from the faulty draughting of statutes. To take one example, Mr. Justice Osler says (*re* Lennox, 6 Ontario Law Reports, 233), referring to certain Acts which it was the duty of the Court to construe, "I do not think that much light is thrown upon their construction as we now find them, though by a scrutiny of the previous legislation, much of which is of an extremely disjointed, inconsecutive character, abounding, as indeed do the present Acts, in verbal practical inconsistencies."

In Great Britain, where the Imperial Parliament has had an experience of over 600 years in such matters, the difficulty is met by employing a highly skilled draftsman with a competent staff. A notable measure of law reform would be the adoption of a similar system here. The multifarious duties imposed on Cabinet Ministers here, as in Great Britain, render it necessary that they should be relieved of such details, which should be performed by highly trained and specially qualified men. The present system of Judicature is founded on the great law reform conceived by the genius of Lord Cairns, and completed by his illustrious successor, Lord Selborne. It was introduced into this province by Sir Oliver Mowat, greatly assisted by the scrutiny and keen criticism of Mr. Matthew Crooks Cameron, both great lawyers.

Since I promised to prepare this paper two able addresses have been published in *The Canadian Law*

Times dealing with the same subject; one by the Hon. Wallace Nesbitt, K.C., and the other by Mr. J. T. Small, K.C., both showing considerable research. Mr. Small has demonstrated that our whole system has worked so satisfactorily that in three years there were only six appeals from our Court of Appeal to the Privy Council, or in the proportion of only one case in five hundred tried.

The first Act of the first Parliament of Upper Canada, which met at Niagara in 1792, replaced the laws of Canada, as the French system was called, by the laws of England, thereby introducing into this province the gladsome light of British jurisprudence. The same Parliament provided for appeals to the Privy Council, and what has been well called the sacred right of appeal has ever since been carefully guarded.

The system existing at Confederation was continued until changed by competent authority. I shall not discuss the legal effect of the local legislation I have referred to, further than to point out that it furnishes a complete answer to those who say that the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee, of which there are two Canadian members, has interfered with local self-government, but would say that it shows the right of appeal to the Privy Council has always been regarded as important, and, indeed, as the birthright of British subjects. It is also regarded as an important security and safeguard by British foreign investors. Nor shall I discuss the bill which has been introduced into the local Legislature, but would conclude by saying that we should not too hastily strike at what we have the best authority for designating one of the best links by which we can maintain the unity of the Empire.

NAVAL DEFENCE FOR CANADA.

Address by His Honour John A. Barron, K.C., County Judge of Perth, before the Empire Club of Canada on March 11th, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I shall not waste my time, and especially your time, in making any preliminary remarks. I will, however, only hope that when I shall have finished you may be one-tenth as much in accord with me as I am pleased to-day at the opportunity given to me by your worthy Chairman and the Empire Club in reaching, if possible, beyond the four corners of this room a people who do not seem to understand one iota of what is meant by naval defence, and therefore, not understanding, remain indifferent and apathetic. And you business gentlemen know much better than I do that if you want to achieve success in anything where mind rubs against mind, then the greatest force against you in achieving that success is apathy and indifference.

According to Herr Rohrbach, the great political writer, Germany's population to-day is about 65,000,000 of people. In ten years it will be about 80,000,000, because, as has been said, "The Polish part of the German population breed like rabbits, and the Germans, they breed like hares;" so that in about ten years' time Germany will doubtless have, as Von Bülow says, a population of 80,000,000 of people. This enormous population is squeezed into a congested space of 300 souls to the square mile. Her African possessions offer land room for scarcely 100,000 of the overflow. Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and South America still offer numerous but undesirable possibilities, and her condition is such that she becomes instantly covetous at the least opportunity for political expansion. She regards with considerable concern the exodus of her people

and looks with envy at England's ability to retain the fealty of her subjects across the seas. Of the 300,000 German-speaking people in Southern Brazil in 1899 not 300 are to-day citizens of the German Empire.

Elbow room is a grave problem for Germany, and if she ever fights Great Britain it will be in response to the ungovernable demand for bread and room from her ever-increasing millions. To-day, if permitted, Oriental peoples would swarm over North America with surprising rapidity, and at the present time the danger zone extends beyond Japan, with its 40,000,000, or China, with its 400,000,000, and reaches the still more remote and densely populated portions of India. A nation whose people are cramped for room wants land, because land means food, and food means life. So territorial acquisition is still a profitable policy common to all countries having political ambition. Years ago Great Britain was wise, and happily for us to-day, what she took she held, what was ceded she kept, and what she discovered she rarely abandoned. A people, gentlemen, with instinctive love of offspring, striving for betterment, fail now to comprehend that the laws of nature, which apparently give to every man a right to such waste portion of the earth as is necessary for his subsistence, must yield to the laws of nations; and especially do the Japanese fail to see why exclusive laws are made by us in Canada who ourselves displaced others, put here before us by the hand of Providence. And so in search for sustenance they bitterly resent our restrictions. This fact necessarily excites sympathy, but it should not diminish prudence, for even Utopia, for economic reasons, limited its cities in size and population, and so, in obedience to the law of self-improvement, Canada forbids transplanting of Oriental roots in Canadian soil.

But, gentlemen, who will assert that our laws of exclusion would be other than a cobweb of protection were it not that foreign eyes see Great Britain standing behind Canada as the Big Policeman? We are told that "the law does not enact what it cannot enforce,"

and Canada, busily absorbed in working out her destiny under the ægis of the mightiest fleet the world has ever seen, does not stop to reflect that respect for her restrictive laws is due in a great measure to the power of Great Britain to enforce them should our own strength prove insufficient. Gentlemen, the *prestige* of Great Britain is to-day the great corner-stone of Empire, and Canada should jealously watch that she does nothing to weaken it. It is this that sustains and holds us safe while we are upbuilding, and it is this that protects us from the evil consequences of foreign ambition—an element in the character of all nations which, according to Petrarch, is the greatest of the five great enemies of peace. And yet, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, Great Britain's sea power, confronted as it is to-day with a threatened German hegemony of Europe, would utterly fail of its purpose were it not for the policy of Lord Lansdowne, perfected by Sir Edward Grey—a policy which can be summed up in two words "*semper paratus.*"

Is it not strange, then, that a gentleman in Peterboro (Mr. J. S. Ewart) recently should say: "We have learned the stupid fallacy of the frequent assertion that the way to secure peace is to be prepared for war?" Mr. Ewart's words, however, contradict his own assertion, because if, as he continues, "Europe is restlessly ready for war and there is now no better chance for it," why, I ask, is there not war? The answer is that the nations of Europe, and especially Britain, are prepared for war, and therefore we have peace. But, gentlemen, is not the lesson of practical experience a safer guide than the views of any idealist untutored in the ways of diplomacy, as Mr. Ewart undoubtedly is? Was it not when Philip of Macedon saw that Greek was ill-prepared to fight for Greek, that he then was able to subjugate the entire Hellenic race? Was not the Norman conquest made easy because Harold dispersed the fleet which Edgar the Peaceful had previously acquired? Did not Henry VII. so well equip his squadrons that for a long time peace was undisturbed? Was it not

the pitiful plight of the "Beggars of the Sea," as we are told, that encouraged the Armada? When, gentlemen, in mid-ocean, Mason and Slidell were taken from a British ship, and war became imminent, was it not the ready arm of Great Britain that forced the United States to recede from their untenable attitude?

In the dispute with Spain over the Falklands, was not England's display of force more effective than any and all the representations made to the Court at Madrid? Is it not to-day the King of Peacemakers who, with a *Neptune* and a *St. Vincent,* still greater in size and displacement than a Dreadnaught, completes a group of eight homogeneous ships? Then, gentlemen, it is President Roosevelt who says that "a first-class fighting navy is the most effective guarantee for peace the United States can have." And President Taft has just expressed exactly the same opinion. It is Lord Roberts who says that "an efficient army is an essential condition of peace and security." It is the present German Chancellor who says that "the moment Germany decides to reduce her equipment, peace would be seriously threatened." It is Mr. Deakin, the ex-Premier of Australia, who says that "they who prepare for war in point of fact do so only to preserve peace." It is the Poet Laureate who sings to us:

> "Nor you nor we would others wrong,
> We only claim to hold our own;
> For this we arm, for this keep strong,
> Safe-guarding Justice on her throne."

So I might go on. I have said enough, I think, to convince ordinary mortals that if a condition of preparedness as a means of preserving peace is a stupid fallacy, as Mr. Ewart says, then not only does history belie itself, but there are many great men who are also very stupid men, but whose urgings nevertheless are safer to follow than the altruistic ethics of men who pay too great an adoration to human understanding, and for whose resurrection long, long hence, when "Mercy and Truth are met together, and Righteousness and Peace have

kissed each other," the Empire Club, I have no doubt, most earnestly and devoutly pray.

Within the last ten years Canada has become a treaty-making nation. Canada practically makes the treaty, England signs it—but who maintains it? Not Canada, but England. We are apt to under-prize this fact. It is now, I think, generally conceded that the life of a treaty ends when a nation is strong enough to break it. It is only the cruder cynics who delude themselves with its sanctity. History proves that international alliances endure for so long as the interests of allies coincide. Russia entering the Dardanelles is an instance of this, and the Bosnian frontier at this moment is another. Let us ask ourselves a question. How long, think you, would a Canadian treaty last if Canada stood alone to enforce it? To this question the Trent affair supplies the answer. Now, enlarged powers, which we rightly demand, bring enlarged responsibilities. We cannot have our cake, and then refuse to pay for it. They are a contemptible people who, while they glory in their growing autonomy, decline to share its obligations. It is a mean man who boasts of manhood and yet omits to protect his hearth, his home and his family.

Side by side with national expansion is a constantly increasing risk of political entanglement, and once friction starts the strongest arm often is not the first to allay it, but more often is the first to fire a gun. Mr. J. S. Willison has said that, "if the weaker nation is likely to be the more sensitive, it is certain to answer quickly to considerate treatment from a powerful neighbour;" but as to that treatment Lord Bacon has said that "no virtue is so delinquent as clemency." And I fail to find in history when the powerful nation ever extended considerate treatment to the weaker one except an expectant benefit of some kind was hidden within the leaves of the olive branch. It is our earnest prayer that Canada may never bring trouble to the Empire, but once a blow is struck, whoever originates the quarrel, and Great Britain as the great nerve-centre becomes involved, the heart's action instantly throbs through the

whole system of Empire, and while each part is liable to attack, each part must be prepared to resist attack.

It is one of the consequences of Empire that, as all must benefit in common, all must suffer in common. We have so long been accustomed to the glories of peace that we pursue our avocations day by day as if immune, and forget that in any war in which Great Britain fires a gun an enemy can attack us or any other of England's possessions, and that when such happens the Monroe Doctrine cannot be invoked to save us from destruction, as some strangely seem to think; for while this Doctrine proposes the integrity of American soil from governmental occupation by a foreign power, it does not apply to temporary occupation incidental to warfare. Now, shall Canada take sanctuary behind Britain's guns, or will she prove herself possessed of that nerve and pluck and strength and greatness, on having which at all times she justly prides herself? I hear it said, gentlemen, that it is folly to prepare when danger is not in sight. History proves that strength discourages and helplessness invites attack, and that while the glories of peace are being chanted, then it is that calamities come, and to all nations the wide world over the message of the Gospel is sent—"Wherefore, let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall." Democracies cannot learn too soon that campaigns are won and lost long years before they are fought. Canada, then, must in some way aid that great tree of Monarchy, which, like the tree of Nebuchadnezzar, has its trunk large and strong to support its branches and its leaves. How, then, is this to be done? A frequent writer in the *Fortnightly* suggests a contribution from Canada to the British Navy of 1,500,000 pounds.

Now, a grant of money is the "one purse" method. It would be a "pay and do nothing policy." It would take from us our control of our expenditure, and Canada would oppose it. It would be an ignominious method of shirking a responsibility. Our share of the burden must be on self-respecting lines which will not permit us to buy with a subsidy a freedom from responsibility, and

we must also remember that a community which provides for its security from external attack only by a money payment will surely lose the capacity for self-defence, and become in time a soft and effeminate nation. Besides, gentlemen, we feel to-day the quickening sense of national life. This would kill it. And as one writer says, "It would give us no other means of meeting an enemy than with a bribe." Besides, again, Canadian boys, your boys, may desire a life on the sea, and Canadian mothers, your wives, their mothers, would ill rest content with the lost opportunities this method would involve. If it be said the Imperial Navy supplies this loss the answer comes from Australia that Australians won't leave Australian waters, and parents will not as a rule send children away alone to the other side of the world at the early age required for entry into the British Navy. In practice, gentlemen, it fails to work satisfactorily. Mr. Deakin, the ex-Premier of Australia, has so stated, and from an Admiralty standpoint it meddles with the strategic movements of British ships.

The Cape Colony plan of giving a ship is less objectionable, but still objectionable. While we would spend our own funds, we would part entirely with the forces created by such funds, and we would still see the indignant frown on Canadian faces because we forsook Canadian boys and diminished their opportunities in life. A gift "in kind" may pay an obligation, but it shrivels up individuality and pays the debt at too great a cost. In all that Canada does, Canada must never lose sight of herself or destroy her own identity. Again there is the Newfoundland plan of training men for Imperial service. This, I think, was Sir Wilfrid Laurier's tentative offer at a Colonial Conference, but *cui bono?* At best it is a waste of energy, because Great Britain has, waiting at the gangway, a supply greater than the demand. When he was first Lord of the Admiralty, Viscount Goschen congratulated England on the fact that the Admiralty could pick and choose among the men and boys who offered themselves

at the recruiting station. Since then the attractions of the lower deck have become so improved that the number of men is increasing far beyond the proportion of means of employing them, and especially so since it has been discovered and so reported by a Committee of the Admiralty that "the wastage of ships now exceeds the wastage of crews and so sets free officers and men from employment." In the face of this recognized fact we would be laying up for ourselves the wrath to come of Canadian men sickened with delayed hopes and bitter disappointments.

There is next the Hoffmeyr proposal of a preferential tariff, but that is only a method of raising funds, and leaves unsaid what to do with the funds when they are raised. There is also the Natal method of contributing coal; but Heaven forbid, gentlemen, that Canada should ever become simply a coal-heaver for a British ship! But may I point out that from our autonomy comes the true, rational and logical plan for Imperial aid and our own defence—a plan, too, that is reasonably within our financial reach. Canada, let us remember, may not attack. Great Britain does that. The first battle-cry must come from the quarter-deck of a British ship. Six years ago the centre of gravity of maritime power in Europe was shifted from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. The Atlantic and Pacific fleets became a shield round Britain's coasts. The overseas were left to defend themselves for, powerful as the British Navy is, it is not omnipresent.

Now, what does our autonomy tell us to do? It tells us to do as Australia does, and that which Australia does Canada should do, *mutatis mutandis*. What does Australia do? She undertakes to give 1,000 men, if possible all Australians, to British ships, 400 of whom are to man two cruisers in Atlantic waters. In addition to that, England provides two more to be cruisers for training purposes. In addition to that, provision is made by the Commonwealth for a system of submarine or torpedo-boat destroyers, as suggested at

the London Conference. In addition to that, provision is made by Australia and she maintains nine submarines and six torpedo-boat destroyers. These are all to be built by Australia at the expense of Australia, manned by Australians, and she undertakes to do that in a short period of three years' time. Why cannot Canada do exactly the same thing subject to her changed conditions? Australia is insular, it is true, but Canada has its thousands of miles of unprotected coasts, and the mighty St. Lawrence is an inviting opportunity to an enemy. It may be that a hostile fleet would not cross the Canadian waters unless we first were beaten badly at sea, but one or two cruisers would unquestionably appear, and it is appalling to think what terrible havoc and destruction such could do to a defenceless seaboard. Again, Canada on the Pacific is close to the Asiatic peril, and while from our physical conformation our defence may always require to be a maximum of militarism, yet without a large minimum of navalism Canada, if attacked by sea, would present a sad and sorry spectacle.

A local naval force is as much necessary in home defence as is a military force. Each form of defence is correlative of the other and without naval armament, according to Admiral Colomb, a fortress is bound to fall if properly attacked by sea. Without naval defence an enemy could bottle up our exports and in breadstuffs alone $40,000,000 a year would go no farther than our coastal harbours. This is the answer to those who say that the money required for naval defence might be better spent in raising wheat, and barley and oats. What availeth riches if they benefit us nothing? As Solon said to Crœsus, who showed him all his treasure, "Yes, sir, but if another should come with better iron than you he would be master of all this gold," and so we ask for Canada naval defence, "lest robber State with readier steel pounce on the precious store by stealth."

A local naval defence contributes to Imperial strength because, as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, so is Empire no stronger than its weakest part. By

strengthening that part you add strength to the Empire, and local strength then becomes Imperial strength; or, as the Premier of Australia has said, "Local defence is Imperial defence at a particular spot, but none the less Imperial on that account." Writers in England who argue for contribution in money ask: "Of what avail is the presence of a few cruisers in Canadian waters?" The answer is: "Of more avail than if there were none." The big ships are not always on the far-off spots, and the recent concentration policy, as inexorable as once was Rule 19, suggests that they may not be. The Admiralty, however, regards a local naval defence as of much value. Lord Tweedmouth at the Conference said: "There is, I think, the further advantage in these small flotillas that they will be an admirable means of coast defence; and that by the use of them you will be able to avoid practically all danger from any sudden raid which might be made by a cruising squadron." And possessed of expert opinion such as this, we need not fear, gentlemen, what prolific writers may say to the contrary, or what man may do unto us.

I have said Canada must preserve her own identity. Our fleet in time of peace should be under our own political control. In time of war it should pass under the strategical command of the Admiralty. This would be Canada's aid to the Empire—that Empire which will long continue to be the strongest guarantee of peace, if every one of its constituent democracies forthwith begins to realize the wider obligations of true naval defence. And so, gentlemen, shall Canada do something or do nothing, and run the risk of sending her sons out in the defence of their country "with the dice heavily loaded against them"?

MILTON AS AN EMPIRE BUILDER.*

Address by MR. GEO. HUNTER ROBINSON, M.A., of Toronto, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 18th, 1909.

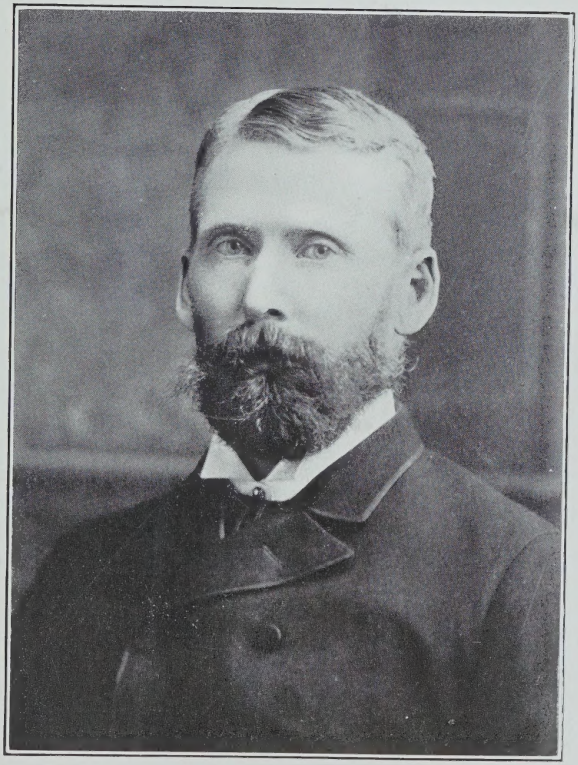
Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

Readers of *Punch* doubtless noticed, a few months ago, a full-page cartoon "Our Honoured Dead," by Partridge, relating to the Milton Tercentenary, where Shakespeare and Milton, in the picturesque costumes of their time, are depicted as shades revisiting the glimpses of the moon, engaged in the following colloquy:

Shakespeare:—"Talking of posterity, they did say something about a national theatre for me, but nothing seems to happen. What have they done for you?"
Milton:—"Oh! I'm all right. Every three hundred years they give me a banquet at the Mansion House."
Shakespeare:—"Lucky dog."

In this imaginary scene the artist was endeavouring to administer a mild rebuke to the City of London, the chief city of the Empire, and the greatest city of the world, in that after the lapse of three hundred years in which the fame of Shakespeare and Milton had been steadily growing, there had been erected in it no material memorials adequate to their genius and position in the world of literature. The project of erecting a national theatre to commemorate Shakespeare in the scene of his greatest triumphs, as was done a few years ago in his birthplace—Stratford-on-Avon—had been for some years before literary London, but for some reason or other it seemed to languish. Possibly the half-indignant query of John Milton, who himself preferred to live in

* Adapted from his Paper, "Milton: The Man and the Poet."



Mr. George Hunter Robinson, m.a.,
of Toronto, Ont.

the printed page and in the minds of readers—select though few it might be—had had a paralysing effect upon the enthusiasm of those who would have liked to see some visible, external memorials to the men of thought as imposing and suggestive as those that deservedly commemorate the men of action in St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey and Trafalgar Square:

"What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones
The labour of an age in piled stones?
Or that his hallowed reliques should be hid
Under a star-ypointing pyramid?
Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thyself a livelong monument
* * * * * * * * * *
And so sepulchred in such pomp dost lie,
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die."

Be this as it may, it is gratifying to learn that the project of a national theatre to Shakespeare in London has within the past few weeks taken definite shape. It is now announced that the project is to be pushed to an early completion and that in this memorial theatre will be acted the poet's masterpieces, as well as those of other English dramatists, living and dead. The theatre will be controlled by a board of trustees chosen from men prominent in literature, drama, music and education. While London will in this way wipe away the reproach of seeming neglect of the greatest English dramatist, it must be evident that Shakespeare, as far as present-day fame is concerned, is the "luckier dog" compared with Milton. Shakespeare still lives in Stratford-on-Avon, whither thousands of pilgrims go every year to pay homage to his memory. He lives on the well-trod stage illuminated and dignified by such interpreters as Irving, Terry and Beerbohm Tree, not to speak of many others, and he lives also in the printed page—the joy and solace of thousands in all lands who never enter a theatre. But Milton lives, and will continue to live, almost wholly in the printed page, and in

the minds of men. His dramatic writings are but very few, and though full of exquisite beauties are not adapted to the stage. Like Tennyson's dramatic productions they are best enjoyed in an easy chair at home. Their very names, indeed: "Samson Agonistes," "Comus," "Arcades," are "caviare to the multitude;" and it may safely be said that for one that has read "Samson Agonistes," ten thousand have seen "Othello," or "The Merchant of Venice," or "Midsummer Night's Dream," presented on the stage. Unquestionably while Milton is, by the voice of the critical world, the more consummate artist for a variety of reasons, some of which have been hinted at, Shakespeare has been, and will continue to be, the more popular personality.

Last summer on a quiet holiday in August, when the great city of London was swarming with visitors from all lands, I stood alone with the sexton in the old church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where a slab in the floor marks the resting place of the author of "Paradise Lost," not far from that of his father. Outside, within the narrow grounds, was a fine statue of the poet, erected by the munificence of a private citizen. Around the walls were memorials of the gallant Sir Martin Frobisher, one of the heroes of the Armada, and a first explorer of the Polar Seas; John Foxe, the author of the "Book of Martyrs;" Bishop Andrews, one of the translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible; John Speed, and others less known to fame; but within the church itself and its immediate precincts all was silent. To relieve my astonishment at the absence of visitors the sexton said: "This is an exceptional day. Sometimes we do have quite a few—chiefly Americans." Not many days after I was almost pushed and jostled in a crowd—I shall not say of "Philistines," but still a crowd—bent on "doing" the half-dozen Shakespeare show-places in Stratford-on-Avon. Many of you have been there, and you will easily recall among other proofs of the poet's world-wide fame, pencilled on the walls of a house the thousands of names whose owners hoped in this way to appropriate some of the fame that attaches

to the dwelling place which had sheltered the great poet. Happily this road to cheap immortality is now forbidden by the custodians of that disfigured shrine.

Yes, truly, to borrow "Mr. Punch's" phrase, Shakespeare is the "luckier dog"—that phrase is enough to make Milton turn in his grave—if it comes to counting material memorials. But in fact there is not the least fear that the world will willingly let die either of these great names. The banquet at the Mansion House, mentioned by "Mr. Punch" is only one significant proof of many that might be cited, that the memory of the great Puritan poet, at least in some quarters, is fresh and green after the lapse of three hundred years.

Perhaps just here, by way of refreshing your memories, and of furnishing an appropriate background for the hurried and imperfect sketch of Milton as a nation-builder that can be given in the few minutes at my disposal, you will permit me to recall the main incidents of the poet's life and times.

John Milton, the son of John Milton, scrivener, was born Friday, December 9, 1608, in the Bread-Street home in the very heart of Old London, not far from St. Paul's Cathedral. It is interesting to recall that at that date Shakespeare—whom very probably Milton as a boy had often seen—had lately produced "Antony and Cleopatra," Bacon was writing his "Wisdom of the Ancients," and Sir Walter Raleigh his "History of the World," when, too, the English Bible was hastening into print. He was the third of six children, only three of whom survived infancy. His father was a man of great probity, business ability and unusual culture, and he spared neither time nor money to secure for the future poet, whose rare gifts he early discerned, the benefits of a thorough education in all the learning of the time. His mother is described as a "woman of excellent charity." The whole story of nations and men leaves us in no doubt that this well-ordered and cultured home must be regarded as the starting point of that career in which Milton was enabled to accomplish so much in the way of light and leading for his own and succeeding

generations. That home is a typical example of that kind of fundamental institution upon which alone the fabric of free communities and states can be erected and preserved.

In 1625, the year in which James I. died, when the dramatist Fletcher died of the plague, and the Thirty Years War was raging in Europe, Milton entered Christ's College, Cambridge, where he remained till July, 1632, taking his M.A. degree, having taken his B.A. in 1629—the ever memorable year of his "Nativity Ode." The next five years he spent in studious retirement at his father's house. On the death of his mother, in 1638, he went abroad, visiting, in very pleasant circumstances, Paris and the chief cities of Italy, whither his rising fame as a poet had preceded him, but allowing nothing to divert him from the cultivation of his powers and observation of social and political conditions and institutions. On his return to England, occasioned by the coming political storm which ushered in the Long Parliament with its train of momentous consequences, he undertook at his own house the education of his nephews and some other youths.

But the burning religious and political questions that then agitated England — some of which have not yet been finally settled— soon engaged his pen. The year 1641 may be described as the "Pamphlet Year," for in it were published "Of Reformation in England," "Prelatical Episcopacy," "Reason of Church Government," and "Animadversions." This was the year of the execution of Strafford, the Grand Remonstrance, and the Impeachment of the Twelve Bishops; and the very titles of Milton's pamphlets indicate the line along which the nation was moving in the tremendous struggle for civil and religious liberty.

For the next thirty years Milton was almost wholly engaged in political controversy, and his voice as a poet was almost silent. In 1665, the year of the Plague, "Paradise Lost" was completed and "Paradise Regained" begun. In 1670 "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes" were published. In 1674 his death took place, November 8, and his burial, November 12.

It is thus obvious that Milton's life falls into three well-defined stages:

(1) A period of thirty years—1608-1638—from his birth, including his studious youth and period of education, culminating in the journey to the Continent. In this period—that is, while still a young man—he had written and published, amongst other things, those monuments of his genius and consummate literary workmanship more lasting than brass: "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," "Comus" and "Lycidas."

(2) The Controversial Period, which lasted from his return to England in 1639 till the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660—almost a whole generation.

(3) The Calm Period preceding his death, say from 1660 till his death in 1674. During this period, when the poet was totally blind, were produced, as already mentioned, "Paradise Lost," "Paradise Regained," "Samson Agonistes," and some prose works.

Reverting now to the Tercentenary Celebrations commemorative of the man and his literary works, I shall not take up time with any detailed account of the proceedings in connection therewith at Cambridge, London and elsewhere in the United Kingdom. It must suffice merely to mention that at Christ's College, Cambridge—the poet's college—there was open for some months an exhibition of Milton portraits, MSS. editions, and personal relics, succeeded by a Banquet at which a large number of distinguished literary men from all parts of the kingdom were present, and which was followed by a performance of "Comus" in the New Theatre.

London, the poet's birthplace, surpassed itself in doing fitting honour to the memory of her greatest son. At the Banquet alluded to by the *Punch* artist, and held at the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor presided, and amongst others the Italian Ambassador and the American Ambassador acclaimed the debt their respective nations, in common with England, owed to Milton. The volume of Papers read at the Tercentenary under the auspices of the British Academy, and another volume

of Memorial Lectures, read before the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom, besides innumerable articles in the Reviews, Magazines and Newspapers, sufficiently attest that very general interest was felt in the occasion, and that the opportunity was not lost for honouring the dead and educating the living. Nor should I omit to mention the religious service, representative as it was of the Establishment and Nonconformity, held December 9, in Bow Church, Cheapside, at which the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs attended in state, besides representatives of Foreign Embassies and Legations, and men of eminence in Literature, Music, Art, Politics and the Church. The Bishop of Ripon, preaching from Jer. xi: 4-5, compared Milton's dreams and ideals with those of "the man with a measuring line in his hand." The British Museum authorities also embraced the occasion to arrange a "Milton Exhibition," in which amongst many objects of great interest to lovers of Milton might be seen next to copies of the first and second editions of "Paradise Lost" the MS. of Tennyson's glowing tribute in "Alcaics" to Milton, beginning:

> "O mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies,
> O skill'd to sound of Time or Eternity,
> God-gifted organ-voice of England
> Milton a name to resound forever."

The dominant chord in the London celebration was admiration, coupled with gratitude, for the extraordinary genius of the man, his consummate literary workmanship, his immense learning, his enlightened and wholehearted devotion to the cause of civil and religious liberty, his fearless and unswerving advocacy of what he conceived to be the truth, and his unblemished personal character. It was universally felt and acknowledged that though London had unequalled reason to be proud of the long roll of her other poet-sons—Chaucer, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Herrick, Pope, Gray, Keats and Browning—not one of them, nor indeed all together, had

shed such imperishable lustre upon her as the author of "Paradise Lost."

The Milton Tercentenary was also appropriately celebrated in many other places in the British Isles, of which I can mention only a few. At Birmingham there was a numerously attended celebration under the auspices of the Free Church Council, over which Sir Oliver Lodge presided. At Hereford the Bishop, Dr. Percival, arranged a united commemoration in the Cathedral Library by people of all the Christian churches. "Milton," the Bishop said, "offered them the spectacle of both a supreme personality and a dedicated life. He served no mistress but truth, and he lived for nothing less than the highest."

In the United States Milton celebrations were numerous and enthusiastic, and large space was given to the Tercentenary in both the secular and religious press. The chief New York celebration was at the Episcopal Church of the Ascension. Dr. Greer, Bishop of New York, and Rev. Percy Grant, the rector, officiated. Mr. Howells, Mr. R. W. Gilder, Mr. H. W. Mabie, Dr. Lyman Abbott, and other leading writers were present. Poems of Milton were sung and recited. At Columbia University Macaulay's Essay on Milton was read by President Butler.

It would be no rash assumption to suppose that the Tercentenary was not allowed to go unnoticed in Australia, New Zealand, the Cape and other over-seas British possessions, but at this writing it is too early for any news as to how the day was observed in those distant countries.

So far as I have observed in Canada, the Tercentenary was allowed to pass without any public notice, except references to the British celebration and some eulogistic editorial comments in the press. Some pulpits also embraced the opportunity to pay a tribute to the genius of Milton, and to acknowledge the debt of gratitude due to that great Puritan for his sturdy fight for civil and religious liberty. Nevertheless, I think it is to the shame of this great University city—the leading Eng-

lish-speaking city in the Dominion—that it should be behind New York and other United States cities in doing honour to the memory of the greatest epic poet in the English language, and one of the stoutest defenders of individual and civil liberty in the whole history of mankind.

Last summer, amid much popular enthusiasm, fanned by royal, vice-regal, gubernatorial and parliamentary patronage, not to speak of grants from the public treasury, lavish honour was done at Quebec to the memory of explorers and great military commanders who had a conspicuous share in the making of Old Canada. No patriotic Canadian would seek to pluck one leaf from the wreaths laid upon the tombs of Champlain, Wolfe and Montcalm, but I am bold to say that there has been a manifest lack of pure patriotism in our failure as a country to do honour to the memory of a man whose life and writings have inspired our patriots and scholars and citizens to make a good land to live in, the land which Wolfe won for us. Nay more, I am sure that Wolfe, who said that he would rather be the author of the Elegy in a Country Churchyard than the captor of Quebec, would, if he were alive to-day and living amongst us, have been among the first to lead the way to honour the man thus described by Gray:—

> "Nor second he that rode sublime
> Upon the seraph-wings of ecstasy,
> The secrets of the abyss to espy.
> He passed the flaming bounds of place and time:
> The living throne, the sapphire-blaze,
> Where angels tremble while they gaze,
> He saw; but blasted with excess of light,
> Closed his eyes in endless night."

Mr. President and gentlemen, I shall never cease to regret that the patriot-poet, whose works have a conspicuous place on the curricula of our universities; a portion of whose greatest poem, ably edited by our present Superintendent of Education, was studied by hundreds of pupils in our high schools and collegiate institutes some years ago; selections from whose master-

pieces have always occupied a prominent place in our school readers for the formation of good taste and high ideals in the youth of our land; whose poetical works occupy an honoured place, and are more or less read as the sublimest and best models of style in thousands of our homes, and which afford to many a man immersed in business a refuge and distraction from its cares—I shall not, I say, cease to regret that at this particular juncture Canada has failed to do appropriate honour to one of the three greatest epic poets in all history, and that Toronto failed to lead the way. By this neglect we have actually "lifted a spear against the muses' bower." We should have remembered, even in these piping times of peace, that

> "The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
> The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground; and the repeated air
> Of sad Electra's poet had the power
> To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare."

A few weeks ago, in order to do honour to a London music hall celebrity, a number of his countrymen escorted him, with pipe and drum, to our City Hall, where, we are told, he was accorded an enthusiastic reception by our Mayor and Aldermen. It is a far call from Harry Lauder to John Milton, but it is nevertheless not to be supposed that if our Chief Magistrate and Council imagined they were upholding the reputation of our city for culture and refinement in thus gracing a wandering minstrel they would have hesitated, if there had been anyone to show them the way, to give their countenance to any scheme for expressing Canadian gratitude for a share in the glory of him who "waked to ecstasy the living lyre," the common heritage of all English-speaking people, and for uniting with the capital of the Empire in paying a grateful tribute to the memory of its greatest son. How unfortunate for our reputation and for the gratification of these innocent desires that the Sage of the Grange, oppressed by the burden of fourscore, could not inaugurate and conduct such a movement!

But all this by the way. Perhaps you would allow me, in conclusion, very briefly to correlate what I have been stating in the way of narrative and opinion to the avowed aims and objects of the Empire Club. What, it may be asked, has Milton to do with our special objects? Much in every way, I would say.

Firstly, our English literature, along with our English language, is one of the chief cements of our Empire. The best of our literature is our poetry, no small portion of which gives expression to the national ideals and sentiments, and thrills the national heart both to do and to suffer for country and humanity. He has but a slight acquaintance with literature and history who would dispute the claim of a modern poet:

We are the music-makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,
And sitting by desolate streams,
World-losers and world-forsakers
On whom the pale moon gleams;
Yet we are the movers and shakers
Of the world for ever, it seems.

With wonderful deathless ditties
We build up the world's great cities,
And out of a fabulous story
We fashion an empire's glory.
One man with a dream, at pleasure
Shall go forth and conquer a crown;
And three with a new song's measure
Can trample an empire down.

We, in the ages lying
In the buried past of the earth,
Built Nineveh with our sighing
And Babel itself with our mirth,
And o'erthrew them with prophesying
To the old of the new world's worth,
For each age is a dream that is dying,
Or one that is coming to birth.

Let Mammon and Belial flout these claims as merely the frenzy of a poet's dream, and though all their sons and daughters should dare to say "No!" to the age-long

question, "Is not the life more than meat and the body than raiment?" the poets, even in mundane things, are right. Bear witness to their power as world-movers and world-shakers: Amphion building the walls of Thebes to the sound of his lyre;

> "Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides,
> And Tiresias and Phineus, prophets old;"

Dante shaking Florence to its centre; and, to be brief, in modern times, Rouget de L'Isle, with his "Marseillaise," inflaming the French people to overthrow an empire; Campbell, with his "Ye Mariners of England"; Burns, with his "Scots Wha Hae," and countless others in every age and country who have nerved the patriot's arm and cowed the tyrant's heart.

Now, Milton in this aspect has a pre-eminent claim upon our admiration as one of the greatest builders and preservatives of our Empire. He is our greatest epic poet; and, as such, his name early, through selections, becomes familiar to the boys and girls in our primary and secondary schools. In the colleges and universities much critical study is given to longer portions, and thus the golden thread of his poetry becomes interwoven with the very tissue of the country's intellectual life. As Homer was the national poet of the Greeks wherever they were scattered, so in a similar way Milton and our other great poets are a bond of union between the several parts of the Empire. The more Milton is read and studied, whether in school, college, or the home, the greater will be the love and admiration on the part of her children for the Old Land—the mighty mother of our Imperial race.

Secondly, Milton was a pure patriot. An occasion called—and in the stormy times in which he lived it often called him very loudly—he gave his time and pen to the service of his country, and he gave it most unselfishly, without expectation of fee or reward, except the approval of a good conscience. Be it remembered that it was no fault of John Milton's that Oliver Cromwell, in the

eighteen years of his protectorate, grasped almost regal authority, and in destroying a tyrant he himself set up a tyranny. Milton was not the first, nor was he the last, man who was doomed to disappointment in what is evolved from political revolution. No doubt, as one of his biographers has well observed, he saw, with sorrow and alarm, the ancient constitution, its settled methods and its substantial safeguards exchanged for one life exposed to countless assaults. But we may be sure that he felt in his very soul that Cromwell, as Lord Protector, stood between England and anarchy, and that, as authority had come into the hands of the kingliest man in England, valiant and prudent, magnanimous and merciful, he was not idolatrously bowing down to a form of government he had himself helped to overcome.

As a recent writer has put it, Milton began by thinking that a new earth could be created by a besom; that one had but to sweep prelates and kings into a sawdust pan, and there was not only an end of slavery, not only a beginning of liberty, but Paradise in full fruit. Milton in 1650 abandoned such notions. In time he had seen that the all-important thing is what he called "the inner liberty." If a man's soul is in chains it may be of little use freeing his body and giving him political power. It may be but substituting a tyrant with many heads for a tyrant with one head—a hydra for a scorpion.

Milton thoroughly learned his lesson as to what liberty is—how it is to be maintained and defended—and it is a most salutary process for the twentieth century to trace every step of Milton's progress. He was, I repeat, a great patriot. He loved England, was proud of her, and was ready to die for her. In the "Areopagitica" he bids his countrymen remember the stuff of which they are made: "Consider what nation it is whereof ye are; a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can come to." Is not that a trumpet blast to stir the blood and nerve the hands of empire-builders both to do and to suffer great things?

Thirdly, he had a passionate, unquenchable love of freedom and liberty for all mankind. His prose works, especially the "Areopagitica," "Tenure of Kings," "Eikonoclastes," and "Delineation of a Commonwealth," reveal him as a devotee of public liberty, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and, above all, of religious freedom. The Lord Advocate of Scotland — Thomas Shaw, K.C., M.P. — in a recent address on "Milton—The Man and Apostle of Freedom," summarized the matter by saying that Milton defended religious liberty against prelacy, civil liberty against the Crown, liberty of the press against the Executive, liberty of conscience against the Presbyterians of his day, and domestic liberty against the tyranny of the canon law. Since Milton's time Nonconformity, instead of being a byword and an obloquy, had become an honour for all who freely served their Master.

It is a far call, indeed, from Canada, 1909, to the England of 1609; and though many abuses have been swept away in these three hundred years, many shackles on civil and religious freedom have been broken, would it not be the veriest folly to believe that tyranny can never lift its hateful head, even in our country, and that there will never come a time when freemen will not need to prick their hearts up by the messages that come to them through the mists of years from the patriots of long ago?

I know not whether there is less political, social and religious corruption to-day than in last century, when Wordsworth surveyed, with his calm, clear gaze, the condition of things in England; but I dare say it will be a long time yet, judging by our public press, before we can dispense with the tonic that the study and contemplation of Milton supplies to individuals and communities:

> "Milton! thou shouldst be living at this hour;
> England hath need of thee: She is a fen
> Of stagnant waters; altar, sword and pen,
> Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
> Have forfeited their ancient English dower
> Of inward happiness. We are selfish men:
> Oh! raise us up, return to us again,
> And give us manners, freedom, virtue, power.

Thy soul was like a star and dwelt apart;
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea:
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay."

There are not wanting those who have disparaged Milton's prose writings, as having had practically no effect on British affairs, while they kept the author's mind from its loftiest and truest exercise. Not so thought Mirabeau, whose theory of royalty, according to the doctrine of Milton, formed, as an acute writer has pointed out, one of the battle-cries of the Revolution. And to-day a growing number of students peruse the prose writings with the feeling that their doctrine and spirit which helped forward one revolution in England have yet to play their part in that other—slower, more peaceful, but not less decisive—which is yet needed for the complete establishment of liberty in England and in her Colonies. I refer not so much to those hideous types of slavery seen not so long ago in the labour of women and little children in coal mines, nail-making and other industries far beyond their strength—happily things of the past—but more especially to those kindred enormities of our own day, whether practised by capital on labour or by labour on capital, wherever might makes right and hunger makes slaves. Politically, wherever the British flag flies man is free; but in many cases men and women are born in chains, live in chains, and die in chains. Happily, we in Canada are free from many of the terrible problems that vex the legislators of the Mother Land; but how long will it be, with our incoming millions, unless our people are trained to see and value what Milton calls the "inner liberty"—before we shall have the worst conditions of the Old World repeated here in an aggravated form?

I am, in saying this, as none know better than yourselves, only taking up the parable of the men of sanity and vision amongst us. But, while there may be danger, I am sure we need not give way to fear. I like the atti-

tude of a writer in the December *Contemporary,* who has been dwelling on the poet Swinburne's words of cheer for the Italians and Russians, and John Ruskin's magnificent work in awakening the sympathies and elevating the moral standards of the community, striking notes that went to the very conscience of the masters of industry:

"Modern men have opportunities given to no other age. And, to be just to ourselves, there never was an age that thought out its problems with a keener mind, with a deeper reverence, and a nobler determination to face the unknown with a cheer. There it is that hope lies. But modern men will eventually have to come back to Milton's solution—call it religious solution or a psychological solution, or what you will—the recognition of the fact that it ultimately lies with each personality, whether he or she will grasp liberty and live. The choice of life or limbo lies, in the end, with the individual. It is the business of modern men to give the individual the opportunity of making a just and an everlasting choice."

Fourthly, Milton is a perfect antidote against that subtle corrupting influence in men and nations which the most eloquent writer of the nineteenth century chose to call "the contagion of the Anglo-Saxon race." What was meant by this startling phrase, so offensive to our social and national pride? Nothing more or less than the blind worship of Mammon, whereby all the prose, all the vulgarity amongst mankind, as seen in the tendencies and aims, the view of life and the social economy of the ever-multiplying and spreading Anglo-Saxon race, would invade and overpower all nations. The true ideal would be lost and a general sterility of heart and mind would set in.

This prophet had in view, no doubt, in the warning given, Great Britain and her colonies, but the United States still more. There, as a profound observer has pointed out, the Anglo-Saxon race is already most numerous, there it increases fastest, there material interests are most absorbing and pursued with most energy, there the ideal—the saving ideal—of a high and rare excellence

seems, perhaps, to suffer most danger of being obscured and lost. The "average man" is too much in evidence there; his performance is unduly magnified; his shortcomings are not duly seen and admitted.

I shall not labour to prove this proposition with regard to our neighbours. It is nothing but what the deepest thinkers in the United States have themselves been saying for years; but what concerns us most is: Is it true, or even partly true, with respect to Canada? I shall certainly not be so rash as to bring a railing accusation against Canada that might not with equal justice be said of the whole civilized world. But what, for instance, I am constrained to ask, are we to augur from that portentious intrusion into modern journalism, the "social and personal" column, wherein the ignoble strife of the madding crowd for publicity is gratified and fostered by the chronicling of their petty ambitions and pettier performances, more than sufficient every morning and evening, if those philosophers could be persuaded even to glance at them, to make Democritus laugh and Heraclitus weep? What of other manifestations of the prevalence of low ideals in domestic, social, and public life? The unanimous voice of the Press in its sober moments, of the Pulpit, and the Bench is:

> "The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers;
> Little we see in Nature that is ours;
> We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon."

Against this mammon-worship and the failure to set and maintain high ideals Matthew Arnold—himself no mean poet—more than twenty years ago found in Milton a saving influence; and I cannot do better towards supporting my present proposition than to summarize Mr. Arnold's observations. He pointed out that excellence is not common and abundant; on the contrary, as the great poet long ago said, excellence dwells amongst the rocks, hardly accessible, and a man must almost wear his heart out before he can reach her. "If to our English race," said he, "an inadequate sense for perfection of work is

a real danger, if the discipline of respect for a high and flawless excellence is peculiarly needed by us, Milton is, of all our gifted men, the best lesson, the most salutary influence. In the sure and flawless perfection of his rhythm and diction he is as admirable as Virgil and Dante, and in this respect he is unique amongst us. Shakespeare is divinely strong, rich, and attractive, but sureness of style Shakespeare himself does not possess."

Once more: "The mighty power of poetry and art is generally admitted, but where the soul of this power at its best chiefly resides very many of us fail to see. It resides chiefly in the refining and elevation wrought in us by the high and rare excellence of the grand style. We may feel the effect without being able to give ourselves a clear account of its cause, but the thing is so. Now, no race needs the influences mentioned—the influences of refining and elevation—more than ours; and in poetry and art our grand source for them is Milton."

To vindicate this pre-eminent claim for Milton, and to realize the importance that should be given to him in the mental equipment of Canada, it should be borne in mind that the ancient classics are, and will remain, a sealed book to thousands of readers, and, as the years go on, to millions. It is absolutely certain that if this host of readers are ever to gain any sense of the great power and charm of the great poets of antiquity, the way to gain it is not through translations of the ancients, but through the original poetry of Milton, who has the like power and charm, because he has the like great style. Through Milton they may gain it, for Milton is English —this master of the great style is English.

This realization of high and rare excellence in workmanship is, Mr. President and Gentlemen, another reason why Milton has been, and why he may continue to be for all time, an immense force in empire-building. We need to learn from him, and others like him, that impatient, slipshod, slovenliness of workmanship can produce nothing permanent or beautiful in arts, or crafts, or literature, or character-building in men, communities, and states.

Fifthly, not only is Milton our supreme master of the

great style, but his themes are of supreme importance, and come home to the hearts and business of all mankind. Not his the amorous lay of love-sick poets, but the eternal theme of how to justify the ways of God to men. The tremendous tragedy of a lost paradise and the supernal joy of redemption for the race are the subjects of his greatest works, and these themes must be of supreme interest to the world as long as time shall last. Whatever may be a man's special cult, the broad facts remain that English-speaking people are a Christian people, and their ethical system is based on the Bible. That book, it is the merest platitude to say, has had an immense influence in shaping the destinies, the morals and manners of the English people, and will continue to hold no second place. Milton has done immense service in drawing attention to that sacred book. Indeed, it is impossible to read him intelligently without familiarizing ourselves with its story, its ethics, its history. And in this way, even while we are reading "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained" for the mere poetry, we are inevitably drawn to think of our eternal concerns, as well as our relations to the things of time and sense. It matters but little that Milton's belief in the Bible as a book is not the belief of the higher critics, that his ontology does not square with any of the creeds, that his mingling of Scripture history and pagan mythology confounds the unities, that his cosmology is contrary to all modern astronomy, that his treatment of spiritual entities is wholly anthropomorphic —notwithstanding all these and scores of other blemishes that the critics have discovered, the broad fact remains that Milton discerned and taught with matchless energy and eloquence, and in almost divine poetry, the essential truth that the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of earth are within us. His sublime genius throws a golden light over everything he touches. Like the great sun he illumines the clouds that gather about him, and his powers, irradiated by the Divine Spirit, which he invoked to aid his adventurous song, pour floods of radiance over hills of difficulty and valleys of humiliation, upon the meanest clod and the highest mountain, over

waste places and Edens, everywhere warming, invigorating, fructifying; and, like that sun, everywhere and for all time publishing to every land the work of an Almighty hand and proclaiming to all mankind the hand that made us is divine. I hold, then, for this reason, also, that the more we read and study Milton the better citizens of Canada, the better empire-builders, we shall be.

Lastly, Milton was not only a great poet, great prose writer, great controversialist, great patriot, great scholar, but he was a good man—with some faults and failings, we must admit, but nevertheless a good man, desirous of living, as he himself says it:

"Ever in the great Task-Master's eye."

Many years before he began to write "Paradise Lost" he had in a single sentence revealed the secret of his power as a poet and his dynamic influence as a citizen and man in his own and subsequent times—"He who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter, in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem—that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy."

No one can justly say that he was a very lovable soul. Life to him was ever a very serious matter; and he passed his time in the lonely grandeur of his genius. He had not the personal charm which we imagine Shakespeare had; but we may be sure that he was not the fanatical, malignant Commonwealth's man, the advocate of doctrines fatal to the peace of society, the man of doubtful piety, the knave in politics, the bad husband and worse father, so described by the controversialists, poetasters and lampooners of Charles II.'s time. "The pernicious book of that late villain Milton" is the way I find, in the *Athenæum* of December 19th last, Milton's state papers to be printed in Holland were described by the then Principal Secretary of State, writing to the Secretary of the Eng-

lish Embassy at The Hague. Every species of calumny and abuse was heaped upon Milton by the Stuart kings and their tools, but no one at this late day need hesitate to take Wordsworth's estimate of the man just quoted in preference to the portraits drawn of him by court sycophants and routine intermeddlers with politics, supported by "the trencher fury of rhyming parasites." Milton is not a beacon to warn, but a star to guide.

Notwithstanding all his faults and failings, for the reasons I have adduced and others that will occur to you, I hold it is our duty, as members of this Empire Club, not only to continue to read John Milton ourselves, but to encourage and persuade all others who would prove themselves good citizens, not merely of Canada and the Empire, but of the whole world, to make him a constant companion. The message that comes to us and to every man and woman from the best of his prose and all of his poetry is the parting message of Spirit in "Comus":

> "Mortals that would follow me
> Love Virtue; she alone is free.
> She can teach you how to climb
> Higher than the sphery chime;
> Or if Virtue feeble were,
> Heaven itself would stoop to her."

MR. R. W. BROCK, M.A., PH.D.

Director Geological Survey, Department of Mines, Ottawa.

THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF CANADA.

Address by MR. R. W. BROCK, M.A., PH.D., Director of the Geological Survey, Department of Mines, Ottawa, before the Empire Club of Canada, on March 25th, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I feel that there are few of us here in Canada who realize the importance of mineral resources to the industrial and material prosperity of the country. There are few who realize the influence which mining has upon the extension and expansion of civilization. It is, however, an historical fact that in any considerable region of the earth the impulse for the first development and the foundation for its civilization has been furnished by its mineral resources. It was the lead and the copper of Spain which brought the ships of Tyre and the galleons of Carthage. It was the tin of Cornwall that laid the foundations of the British Empire. It was the gold and silver that brought the Spaniards to the shores of South America. It was the gold of California which gave the United States its trans-Mississippian empire.

Not only this, but you can measure the degree of civilization of a nation by the extent to which it uses its mineral resources. In Canada we are just commencing to realize the importance of our mineral resources and our mineral industry; our mining is just beginning. The reason for that is not far to seek. Europeans who came over to America found that it was a country of excellent agricultural possibilities. The first duty of the pioneer was, of course, to provide a food supply. As the population slowly increased fresh acres lay at hand to be brought under the plough, and so in Canada we became an agricultural people. Now, minerals early attracted attention. One excursion of agriculturists into the mining field is usually satisfying, and the results are not, as a rule, sufficiently encouraging to establish an industry. We had not the expert mining engineers to

direct, nor the skilled miners to win. If an expert were employed in the early days, the chances were that he was a practical miner who had gained his experience on a California rocker. Under his able direction farmers' boys made holes in the rocks. In recent years we have been developing a technical class, and we have been developing some expert miners; so that we may now be said to be fairly started on our career as a mining country.

In speaking of the mineral resources, I must make a confession: I do not really know anything about the mineral resources of Canada! But, for that matter, neither does anyone else. This is due to the fact that we have only a small population, which is distributed along the southern portion of the country. The greater part of Canada is unprospected and unexplored, but a sufficient development has taken place to enable us to state that Canada is a country of vast mineral possibilities. The exploratory work done by geological surveys has furnished an idea of the general geological conditions. It enables us to roughly indicate the areas which will probably be found to be mineral-bearing, to presage the character of the mineral resources, and to confidently assert that Canada is destined to become one of the great mineral-producing countries of the world. We can say that we have in Canada one of the greatest tracts of unprospected mineral land in the world. Since the geological conditions are known, we can compare these conditions with those obtaining in the United States, where mining development is very much farther advanced, and where the mineral resources are, to a certain extent, known.

If we find geological conditions in Canada similar to those of a producing district in the United States, it seems fair to assume that the mineral resources will also to an extent be repeated. Any hesitancy which we might feel about applying this principle disappears when we consider the results of the developments already attained in the districts in Canada, and compare these developments with those of similar districts in the United States

at the same stage in their history. One of the greatest mineral and industrial centres in the world is situated along the Appalachian region. The north-eastern part of this province lies in Canada, forming the south-eastern part of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. In the Maritime Provinces and Quebec we find practically the same minerals that have made the Appalachian States the great mineral-producing countries that they are. In Nova Scotia, which is perhaps the best developed portion of this district in Canada, we have the great coal deposits; we have iron and gold; we have valuable building stones and cement; and some minerals that have been developed to a lesser extent, such as manganese, antimony, etc.

At no point either in the United States or in Canada has the complete development of the mineral resources taken place. Its best development is in the State of Pennsylvania. The annual production of Pennsylvania amounts to rather more than $9,000 per square mile. In Nova Scotia, under its present development, the mineral production is only about $1,000 per square mile, but the annual production of Pennsylvania amounts to about $67 per capita; in Nova Scotia about $46 per capita. If you take into consideration the more intensive production which follows the larger population and industrial development, you will see that Nova Scotia compares favourably with Pennsylvania; that it is fair to assume that Nova Scotia has about the same mineral resources, proportionately, as the richest and best developed State. New Brunswick is known to contain a great variety of minerals, but the development has not been extensive. I feel confident in stating that some of you will live to see important industries in New Brunswick. The south-eastern portion of Quebec is known to be a very rich mineral country. There you have the largest asbestos deposits in the world, which furnish about 90 per cent. of the total world's supply; also important chrome-iron, copper, and pyrite industries.

The next section of the country that forms a distinct geological province, with distinctive minerals, is the

southern portion of Ontario and the St. Lawrence Valley. This does not contain great deposits of the metallic minerals, but it has important resources in the non-metallic, such as building materials, clays, cement, petroleum and natural gas. It is very similar, geologically and in area, to New York State. New York State is very much better developed, so that its mineral production may be compared, not to that of the whole of Ontario, with its silver, nickel, etc., but to the present condition of the whole of Canada, which shows you the extent to which a mineral industry may be developed. The next portion of the country is a large area which extends from Newfoundland along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, around the Great Lakes, and forms a big "V" towards Hudson's Bay. This area is underlain by what is known as pre-Cambrian rocks, and these rocks are noted for the great variety of minerals which they contain. I will not take up your time enumerating the list, but merely say that it practically covers all the minerals and precious stones used in the arts. This district is for the greater part unexplored. It forms over half of Canada—2,000,000 square miles. Only the southern portion of it is known. Of this portion only a part has been prospected. A small tongue of these rocks extends into New York State, and there is situated a very extensive and varied mining industry.

Another tongue extends into Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. In this area are found the great copper mines of the Lake Superior district and the great iron ranges—the greatest yet known in the world. In Canada we know very much less about the country, even of the southern fringe, than is known of these areas in the States. But we know of the gold in the Lake of the Woods and Rainy River country; the great iron ranges which extend from Minnesota through the northern part of Ontario into Quebec; the silver of the Thunder Bay district; the copper rocks found on the north shore of Lake Superior; the great nickel-copper mines in Sudbury; the silver district of Cobalt and the Montreal River. We also know of the largest corundum deposits

in the world; perhaps the greatest feldspar deposits; probably the richest mica district in the world. Since the greater part of it is unexplored, and the larger part totally unprospected, we cannot make very definite statements concerning it. We know, however, that in the southern (United States) portion there is the greatest iron district in the world, which has produced over 400,000,000 tons of iron, and which is estimated to produce at least 1,500,000,000 more. There is, also, the greatest copper camp, which has produced four and a half billion pounds of copper, and is annually increasing its output.

In Canada we have the chief nickel mines in the world, and what is apparently about to prove the world's greatest silver camps. From what we know of the northern country I think we can safely say it is quite as valuable as the area which extends into the States. We also know, from the results of the geological explorers, that patches of these pre-Cambrian rocks are scattered all over this northern area. We also know that they have found the same minerals in the northern part of the country as are so valuable and productive in the south. We are safe in assuming that in this northern country we have vast mineral resources which will be available for future generations.

Continuing westward we come to the great plains which extend from Manitoba through Alberta to the mountains. This is, of course, primarily an agricultural district, but besides furnishing a good market for the products of the mine, it is also rich in non-metallic minerals. You have along the southern edge the materials for cement, and other structural materials. You have practically this whole area underlain by lignites, which are useful for local purposes and which will be useful for power in gas-producers. Towards the mountains you have the higher grade of coals. This area will probably prove to be one of the greatest natural gas fields known. Farther north we have good reason for believing that there is a very valuable and extensive petroleum field. Along the northern edge of it you have the remains of petroleum which has escaped to the surface,

forming vast areas of what are locally known as the "tar sands." These contain about 10 per cent. of bitumen. These tar sands cover an extent of about 1,000 square miles, about 150 feet in thickness. There is in the area which has come under Mr. McConnell's observation about six and a half cubic miles of bitumen. Farther west, of course, we get into the Cordilleras, which extend from South America through Mexico and the United States, British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska. They have no parallel so far in the world for continuity, for extent, and for the variety of their mineral resources. They are, of course, best developed in Mexico and the Western States. We have about 1,300 miles in length of the part which is in Canada, with a width of 400 miles, and we have practically the same geological conditions.

The Cordilleras in Canada have been developed only along the southern edge of British Columbia, and a little prospecting for placer gold along some of the main streams. They are highly productive all through from Mexico to Southern British Columbia. They are also found to be very valuable at certain points along the coast and in Alaska. We are perfectly safe, then, in assuming that the entire section of the Cordilleras will be found to be highly productive. We are quite safe in assuming that in the Cordilleras in Western Canada we are going to have one of the greatest mining districts in the world.

If we take and compare, as we did Pennsylvania and Nova Scotia, the best developed State in the western Cordilleras with the best development in British Columbia, we will find the comparison is quite as favourable. Colorado is the best developed State, and only about half of the State is included in the Cordilleras. Allowing its territory to be one half in the Cordilleras it has a production of about $1,200 per square mile, or about $132 per capita. British Columbia, of course, as it is only developed along the southern part, has a very small production per square mile—as a matter of fact, about $76; but the production per capita of British Columbia is greater than that of Colorado—$145 per capita. I

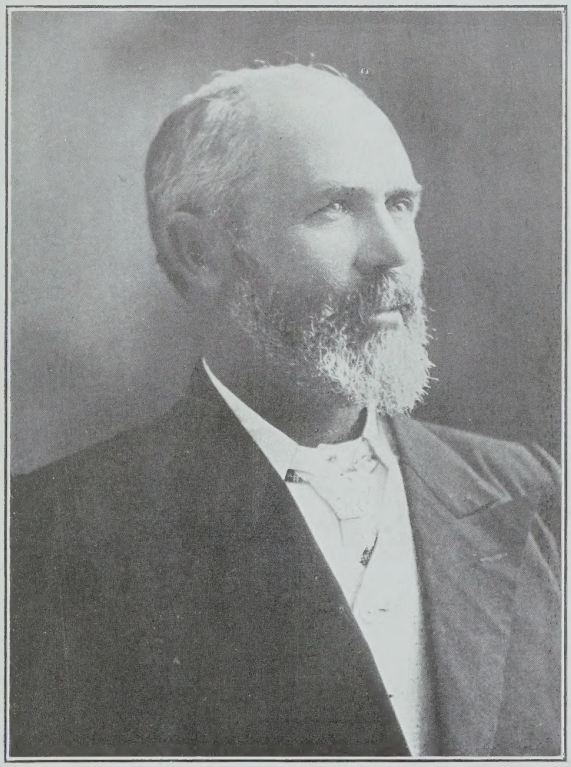
think, then, that we are quite safe in asserting that in the western Cordilleras we have one of the greatest of mineral fields.

It is fortunate for Canada that our mineral possibilities are so great. The conditions in the northern part of the country are not favourable to settlement. The conditions in this great area of the western Cordilleras are not favourable for settlement. The agricultural possibilities are not sufficiently attractive to cause farmers to take up the land. In the northern part you have not timber resources. For the opening up and development of that part of the country we are dependent entirely upon the mineral resources. And the same holds true with regard to a great part of British Columbia. But the history here will, I think, be exactly similar to that of the Western States. The Western States would never have been settled by an agricultural population had they not been first opened up and transportation facilities provided by the mining industry. When a local market and transportation facilities were afforded they learned dry farming and irrigation, which has transformed the American desert into a garden. The same thing has taken place in southern British Columbia. There you have the fruit-growing industry assuming importance which never would have occurred but for the mining. That condition is going to hold over quite an extensive area in the northern part of the Province. Once it is opened up by mining, and a local market is provided, settlers can go in and earn a living until they get accustomed to their surroundings, learn how to make a successful living in comparison with what is considered more favourable sections. The farther north we have a population the better will be the stock, so that not only from an industrial standpoint, but from a higher standpoint of Canadian citizenship, it means a great deal to the country.

There is one other point in connection with the mineral industry that I would like to emphasize. It was brought out by Earl Grey in a speech made at the dinner of the Mining Institute in Montreal, and that is the importance

of the mineral industry with regard to transportation facilities. He said: "Although the mining industry is at present in its infancy; although our annual production is quite small (only about $87,000,000, which is not more than one-fifth of the agricultural products), yet the mining industry furnishes nearly twice as much tonnage to the railways as the agricultural. In the United States, where the mining industry is more highly developed, it furnishes considerably more than half the total tonnage of the United States railways. What that means to farmers and manufacturers and everybody, with regard to the improvement of transportation facilities and improvement in freight rates, I do not need to mention."

There are other points which must be considered in dealing with the mineral resources of the country, and that is that the value is not to be estimated in dollars and cents; that they furnish a raw material for a hundred other industries; that they furnish materials on which labour is expended; so that the products of the mine, before they are utilized by men, have increased many-fold in value. The mineral resources of the country, then, I think we may say, are second to none; and I think that all of us who have the interests of the country at heart should take an interest in helping along the legitimate development of this great industry.



THE HON. J. H. MCCOLL.

Senator of the Commonwealth of Australia.

AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT.

Address by the HON. J. H. MCCOLL, Senator of the Commonwealth of Australia, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 15th, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I count it a very great honour to have the privilege, in my flying visit to Toronto, to be able to speak to a gathering such as this, and it will be one of the happy incidents of my tour through America and Canada that I have been able to speak to you and come in touch with those who represent the business and the life and soul of this city. My remarks will represent my own personal opinions, based upon my own personal experience, and therefore I do not wish you to take what I say as speaking officially. My remarks are a hasty sketch, and it was not till this morning that I put some notes together. If you will bear these things in mind, I will proceed.

First of all I want to say that there is, and I hope there will ever be, an increasing community of interest between Canada and Australia. We have the very warmest feeling for our brethren over here, and I am sure that feeling is reciprocated. We are of the one language; we have a common loyalty; we are a common race; we have in our veins the same scarlet thread of kinship. The very diversities that exist in climate and situation and in products should form another bond of interest, because we dovetail into your needs here. When you are full and plenty we are scarce; when you are scarce we are full and plenty, and therefore this should bring about a closer bond of union between the two countries.

Our past, however, has been different from yours. Here you had a land in which you always had people, and plenty of them. Whoever might have been the original inhabitants, there were always people. Later on you

had people who came over from the Continent of Europe, and who settled here, one nation after another. They came and took possession, and they fought a number of battles. Canada has been a great battle-ground, and the reflex influence of these battles has not been confined to Canada only, but has had a great effect on the Empire to which we belong, and on the other nations on the other side of the water away to the east. We have therefore developed under different conditions to what you have. You have had here many races; you have had fine types of those races; and you are approaching, I feel sure, now to having a type of your own—approaching homogeneity in the races that have come and settled in this country.

We are quite different. Our people came there to that great lone land in the southern sea, a land which has been existing for untold ages, for, while it is the youngest land developed mentally, it is the oldest land geologically, our friends the geologists tell us. Nations have waxed and waned while our great country—larger than the United States, four-fifths the size of Canada—waited to be peopled. In due time, under the guidance, I have no doubt, of Divine Providence, it was peopled, and peopled by the race best fitted to develop it, best fitted to make it a land not only for the good of the race there, but for the good of all the peoples of the earth, no matter who they might be. We had there a few wandering nomads, very, very low indeed in the scale of civilization, who had no settled place of abode, who built their places of bark and leaves, and moved about from time to time as the necessities of their animal needs compelled them to do. We had nothing in the way of difficulties from aboriginal inhabitants to encounter. We had a very even climate. Our total variation is only 81 degrees; here you have about 150 degrees. We have a soil fitted to produce anything that is produced in any part of the world, except, perhaps, in the extremely cold regions. We have no blizzards, no diseases, no pests, no wild beasts, no enemies: we have had no wars.

You see this land came down to us as a great trust from Providence to be used for the good of humanity

as a whole. We came to ideal physical and racial conditions, under the shadow of the flag of the mightiest Empire and the mightiest race that has ever ruled in the world. That is the land that was last found, last occupied, last developed; and, looking at it in all its fairness of conditions, all its freedom from difficulties of environment, where could more ideal conditions be found for working out the great social, political and industrial problems which the complex situations of the day present to every land for investigation and solution? All the nations to-day are experimenting, more or less, socially, industrially, politically, ethically, and they are finding everywhere that the new wine will not fit in the old bottles; that we have to re-adjust our conditions in accordance with the trend of humanity as a whole; and I say that in that land from which I come we have had opportunities of trying these new experiments, perhaps under more favourable conditions than in any other land on the face of the earth.

All these new experiences, all this matter of readjustment, are connected with politics. It is in the arena of politics that these things have to be done, that these experiments have to be made, that these battles have to be fought, that these problems have to be solved. And so the work which is going on in this newest of lands, with an untrammeled environment and without any complexity of races, should be of interest to our brethren here in Canada, and to our Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world. Many people decry politics, but we should remember that politics is the most important thing we have to consider. Past politics is just the history of to-day, and the politics of to-day will be the history of the future; and, therefore, you see, while we are engaged in politics, though some think it is a bore and a nuisance, we are really making history—everything that we do and every step we take. Politics is a science that every man and woman interested in the country should study as much as he or she can.

To get to Australia. It was first claimed as a British possession by Captain James Cook in August, 1770.

Formal possession was only taken of it by Governor Phillip on August 22, 1788. There was, however, no political development (and that is my subject to-day) until about 1851, and very little then. It was, up to about that time, a Crown Colony, presided over by a Governor sent from home, and who acted entirely under the direction of the Imperial Government. The discovery of gold in 1851, however, worked a great revolution. The population in 1841 was 320,000; in 1851, just as gold was discovered, 437,000. But in ten years more it was 1,168,000. You can see the rush of people that went over to this new land, lured by the desire for gold and to better themselves. You can imagine the class of men who went there. They were the hardiest of adventurers, tired, perhaps, of the conditions of the old lands in which they were; and they went to this newer country to make a home and a fortune for themselves and their families.

Representative government was not given to any of the Colonies until 1856, when it was accorded to Victoria and to New South Wales; and from that time our politics actually began. And here I may say that the generosity of Great Britain to her Colonies is to be marvelled at. We all know how generous she has been; she has given us absolute liberty of self-government. She gave us the land, and said: "Do the very best you can with it for yourself and your race;" and we are left practically untrammeled in anything we choose to do. And this ought to be recognized by citizens of the British Empire wherever they are. At first there were no political parties. Men were too busy looking for wealth to bother about politics, and the first political lines were drawn on the land question. The surface deposits of gold were very rich, but were soon worked out. Then they would go down from the surface one or two hundred feet, but that in time would be worked out. Then they went down below the old river-bed formations—they got worked out. Then the country found itself with a large population, with the gold falling off, without manufactures, without industries, and without anything for the people to do. Then arose the cry of "Unlock the land!"

The shrewd men, many of them Scotch, had got all the land they could lay their hands on. There is a proverb there that the English have all the money, the Irishmen all the billets, and the Scotchmen all the land. That was the first cry that divided political parties. A battle ensued for settlement, and men ranged themselves on one side or the other, and the first terms used were Conservative and Liberal, and the land was the first battle-ground. The next battle-ground in politics was the tariff. A little later on it became obvious that manufactures would have to be established. It also became obvious that without some assistance in the shape of a tariff men would not put their money into manufactures, and thus the question of protection came up for discussion in our country. Those who had come in from England came with free trade ideas. Those from other countries came with protectionist ideas. But, strange to say, the terms Conservative and Liberal were differently applied to what they were in the old lands. With us the Liberals were the protectionists; the Conservatives were the free traders. Up till the establishment of the Commonwealth, Conservative simply meant free trader and Liberal meant protectionist. These were the main dividing lines until about 1885 and 1890. During this time the most marked political incident in our career was the establishment of the ballot, which has found its way to almost every nation in the world where there is representative government. This proposal for the ballot revolutionized elections, and gave the usual impulse toward democracy.

Another factor that largely influenced Australia was our development of local self-government. We began right away and formed our local bodies. First of all they were simply road-boards, but the principle extended to villages, towns and cities, and these local bodies gave the people a spirit of local self-reliance. They did not go running to the Government for everything they wanted. These local governing bodies were also a training ground for our parliamentarians. So we go on until 1881 to 1890. The Labour Party came into prominence after the great maritime strike, about the end of the eighties, and

the main plank they put forward was direct representation of the workers in Parliament. They had a number of other planks, but felt that if they could get direct representation in Parliament they could do anything they pleased.

We have had a great deal of industrial legislation; and, while the Labour Party are inclined to take the credit, it does not belong to them. It has come really from the Liberal Party in Australia in the various States. Some of that legislation has been founded on the legislation brought over from the Old Country. Much of it, however, is peculiar to Australia. Almost the first instance of it was the recognition of an eight-hour day for miners in all mines, and for women workers and for children. And though it is not now a statutory day's work in all occupations, it is practically recognized; and when you hire a man for a day, unless you have some special arrangement, eight hours is supposed to be his day's work. I may make an exception in regard to farmers; they make their own arrangements. The first factory act was in 1873, and gradually there has been growing from that time until now Government interference between the employer and the employee. This interference, which has culminated in acts of parliament, has regulated hours of labour in a great many callings. In Victoria we have the shops regulated, the factories regulated. We have the various trades regulated—the conditions under which workers are to work. In the factories they must provide buildings fitted for men and women and children to work in, a certain amount of air-space, and the economic and sanitary conditions must be clean and good and reputable.

The question of wages is also a matter that has come under the Acts; accommodation; safety of employees in regard to hazardous occupations; and there has been, right through from that time, both in our State and in the Commonwealth, careful legislation, a general care, for the workers, both male and female, and also for the young people who are working. The rise of the Labour Party is, perhaps, made too much of. They have been an

impelling force, but they have not had a majority in the parliaments, except for a very short time in one or two cases. In New South Wales and Victoria and Queensland they have not had a majority, but they have been an impelling force, and they have influenced legislation to a considerable extent, because they put before the people ideas of bettering their condition, and ideas of more work and more pay and less hours, which, of course, are attractive, and the legislators have found themselves compelled to some extent to follow and support the legislation proposed. Credit for most of it is due to the Liberals.

Among all this legislation probably the most effective and the most satisfactory is the Victorian system. In the Factory Act of 1894 provision was made for wages boards. If a trade wants to come under that Act, they apply to Parliament; arrangements are made by which an election is held among the employers and employees. Five only are elected, and they sit at a table and they have at the head a chairman. If they can agree between themselves, they select him mutually. If not, the Government appoints one in six weeks. The chairman is not connected with the trade at all, and is chosen as a level-headed man who will not show any party spirit. We have found that system, which has been working since 1894, most satisfactory. While there was a little friction at first, we have had no strikes, no trouble. If any difficulty arises in a trade it goes to the Board, and the advantage is that the men on both sides of the table know the business that they are talking about, and, with an impartial chairman, he generally comes in the middle and compromises. In New South Wales, where they had a Conciliation Arbitration Act, they are superseding that Act and adopting our Victorian system. Workers have had better conditions, somewhat better pay, and the cost of articles has not risen to any great extent to the public; and, while employers have, perhaps, a little less profit, they are well satisfied, because they are free from the trouble of strikes and lock-outs, and these are the things which interfere so seriously with trade.

One of the most important steps taken in connection with politics was the passing of female suffrage. That was brought into force in South Australia, where we had had a Liberal Government for some years, in 1894. West Australia followed in 1900, New South Wales in 1902, Tasmania in 1905, Queensland in 1906, and Victoria, while one of the most Liberal, did not get it until last year. And now we have female suffrage in every one of the States, and on the drawing up of the Commonwealth Act in 1902 they gave the women the vote all over the Commonwealth for Federal members. I know that this is a matter that has been discussed here to some extent, and it was discussed over there. Personally, I have always supported it. I have always failed to see why one half of the world, who have to obey the laws, a great number of whom, too, go out and earn their own living, should not have a voice in the selection of the men who make the laws they have to obey. I have always looked upon it as a right that women should have a share in the choosing of their representatives. That is my own personal opinion.

Furthermore, in these changed conditions that are coming in all civilized countries; where governments are interfering more and more, not only with the trades and the professions, but with the home; where they won't allow a man to have a dirty backyard or to bring up his children in ignorance or disease—in all these things I say it is necessary that we should not only have the stern rule of man, but I say we should also have the sympathizing feeling of women as well. The nations, if they are to be fathered by these paternal governments, then, I say, they ought to be mothered as well. We have had this working in Australia for some years, and we find that our political meetings are carried on in a more orderly way; that women come with their brothers and husbands, and they have a keen intuition. For the first election or so women's vote was not given in the same ratio as the men's. That is gradually altering. At the last Commonwealth election they were not so many per cent. behind the men in their vote, and at one or two bye-elections

they were fully equal, and in one case had a larger proportion than the men. The result has been that really they are cleaning politics up, and one thing they are very careful about and that is the character of the men they vote for. A man now stands very largely on his character, and if there is a breath of suspicion that he is not living a good, straight, clean life, he stands no chance whatever.

Coming to the Commonwealth, I cannot deal with the constitution, although it is very interesting. It was a people's business from first to last. First of all, it was decided that a Convention should be elected, ten from each State. They met, framed the draft of constitution. That was sent to all the State parliaments, passed through each parliament clause by clause, returned with all the suggestions and amendments of the various parliaments, reconsidered by the Convention, and then the clean draft was brought out. But that did not end it. It was then sent to the people for their approval, "Yes or no; do you accept it or not?" It was accepted by overwhelming majorities. Then it had to go through the British Parliament in the same manner, and then past the law officers of the Crown at home; and so, you see, we are the heir of all the ages. We have been able to take from all the constitutions of the world, and we have got what Mr. Joseph Chamberlain called "the most complete democratic instrument that ever was written on the earth." It received the royal assent in July, 1900, and the inauguration took place in January, 1901. Parliament met on the 29th of April, 1901.

Federation had been talked about since 1849. Many attempts were made, but it was not until it became a people's question that success attended the efforts to bring federation about. Powers that had to go to the federation were definitely stated; different from Canada. What is not definitely mentioned in our constitution remains with the States. The formation of our federation was unique. It was entirely a voluntary union, springing from deep conviction of national unity. There was no external pressure, no foreign complications. It

was just that the people saw the folly of disunion and the advantages of nationhood. When formed, political parties were mixed. The Labour Party was the only compact one. We drifted into a three-party system—the Government Party, the Opposition, and the Labour Party. The Labour Party had the balance of power, and, of course, exercised, a very strong influence. The consequence has been that we have had a number of changes of Government, and that, with the exception of the first Government, we have not had one Government altogether which had a solid party of supporters at its back. Therefore, they have had to lean more or less to those who held the balance of power and give way to them to some extent.

What the future will bring one can scarcely say. We have a Labour Government in at present, and the leader (Mr. Fisher) is a fairly honest man. Of course, he will have to follow his party's programme; and, while I would not like to prophesy, I think that the chances are that the other sections of the House will probably join together after the House meets in May or June next and form a united party as against the Labour Party, and put forward a national Australian programme. We had our foundation work to do first, then the tariff. Our tariff was a stupendous work. We had six different tariffs before. We had to take all these different tariffs and weld them into one whole. It took us nineteen months to get that tariff through. We had to formulate our Civil Service. There is no patronage in our system. Politicians have nothing whatever to do with it. No man's position there depends on what political party is in power. Entrance depends entirely on merit. The chance is given to the son and daughter of the poorest people in the country, if they have the ability, as well as the richest. The Prime Minister could not put a lad into our public service, no matter what he could do, nor would he try to do it.

In Australia we have a strong conviction, which we have carried into effect, that all public utilities should be publicly owned; that they should not be made a means

of profit to private people, or be used as a means of gambling, as many of the railroad stocks are in America to-day. Our waterworks, railways, tram-cars, etc., are under control of the Government, or under the cities in which they are running. We have found this system to work well. You must, however, understand that politicians have nothing whatever to do with it. We put our railways under a Commission. Mr. Tait, a Canadian, has taken over our railways in Victoria, and from a deficit of one thousand pounds a day we are now paying our way. The politician has no right to interfere. The State determines as to what lines shall be carried out. But the fixing of wages and every matter of detail is entirely in the hands of the Commission and without interference by anybody else. We say, "You take it and manage it as a business proposition; pay your way, and whatever you have over you can give to the public in greater privileges or reduction in freight rates."

We have another question which is of great interest and importance, I suppose, to Canada, and that is our legislation with regard to the inferior races. We have looked around and seen what has been the effect of the introduction of these races into other lands, and we find that in every case it has not been the means of raising those races up to our own level; it has been the means of dragging our own people down to theirs. They marry when they mix; they have children sometimes when they do not marry—children who have the contempt of both races, with the vices of both and the virtues of neither. We saw that here would be an influence that would work harm; and we took the thing right at the start and our legislation says, "You shall not come in." Nothing can enable an Asiatic to come over there and make his residence. He can come for two or three years for the purpose of study, but he only gets a permit renewable from year to year to the extent of three years. Whether we are right or wrong we thought that we had better settle it at first, and we believe we will have a stronger country, a sounder country, a country in which we will have a more general level, socially, industrially

and morally; and that we will have people with whom our children can mix when young and marry when they get more advanced in years, and we believe that with our advantages in other respects in time there will come to us the immigration from other lands which we need.

This question of defence! We feel that we have not been doing what we should have done with the Old Land. We have had an arrangement with Britain by which we pay her 200,000 pounds a year, and she provides a fleet and takes so many of our men. We felt that was unsatisfactory, that while we were doing something we were not encouraging the Australian naval sentiment. We want to encourage an Australian-Imperial naval sentiment. We have a sea-girt land, but we want to give our young people facilities to get out on the ships, and so we will, I think, this year break off that agreement with the Old Country, and instead of paying them 200,000 pounds a year, which, while it is something toward the expense, does not quite meet the requirements; what will take place will be this. We will say: "We free you from this agreement. We will not ask you to keep your ships in these waters, but we will look after our own coasts. We will build submarines and destroyers. They will be here when you want them. We will provide coaling stations and docks, so that your fleets may come in and make repairs instead of having to go back to the Old Land or other places." We believe that while this will cost us more money we will render the British Marine a greater service than by simply the payment of a paltry two or three hundred thousand a year.

As regards our land forces; we have some 22,000 men in the ordinary forces, mostly volunteers. There is a permanent artillery, but not very many. We have some 43,000 men in rifle clubs. They are attached to the force, so that they have to come up once or twice a year for drill, and the Government gives them their ammunition at half price. We are bringing military training into our schools. We have miniature ranges. A lad is taught to use a rifle, and when he gets eleven or twelve he is given a rifle and taken out to the ranges. They have

their drill and shooting practices; and sometimes go away 100 miles or more to shoot with other schools; and so we are developing a nation of rifle-shots. The youngsters look on it as a sport, and it takes the place of their other sports, and they throw themselves into it with abandon. We have in these Cadets the nucleus of a force which will be trained in military drill and discipline, and also they will be encouraged in a patriotic spirit by being taught that they are doing all this not for mere pleasure; but that in the future they may be fit and ready to defend their country if the necessity should arise. And we have found this Cadet system to work admirably. It brings the youngsters under discipline. They are better and straighter for the work they get in this Cadet system.

I noticed yesterday in the paper some teacher condemning this system in Toronto. I think he is wrong, and if we could only get him over there and show how the system is working, I thing he would alter his opinion very quickly. Then we have a senior Cadet force, which takes boys from sixteen to twenty-one, and by that time they can go into the Militia. We do not wish to encourage a spirit of militarism; we want a plain, homely, sound force; but we believe we will thus encourage a spirit of patriotism that will be there when the call comes. We were not paying enough, $1.50 per capita, and I think Canada ought to pay a little more than $1.00, which is all she pays at present. (A Voice: What about the Dreadnaughts?) I am unable to say what has been done regarding the Dreadnaughts, as I have been away for some time and have not seen our papers. The mere matter of the cost of a Dreadnaught is not considered. But if it is looked upon as an example, something that will be a sort of warning to the outsiders to say "hands off!" the Dreadnaughts will be there. When the call came in South Africa, Canada sent troops, Australia sent troops, and the other nations got a lesson then that they will never forget.

We have an old-age pension scheme which will apply to all Australia, coming into operation July next, under

which sums of $2.50 a week downwards will be given to men and women of 65 years of age, and they will be allowed to earn up to $5 a week over and above that if they can. They must be 65 years of age, but if incapacitated before, then they can apply and come under the provision. We believe that this is a great humanitarian step to take. These old men and old women have borne the heat and labour of the day. Although it is a great expense it is in the right direction, and I believe a blessing will follow any country that will take in hand its aged so that they will be absolutely sure that in their later days they will have enough to keep them without becoming paupers. It is given as a right to the citizen and not as a dole of charity. We have also provision for invalid pensions, but no date has been fixed. Immigration will be discussed this Session.

We have an educational system free of charge, compulsory and secular. At the same time we inculcate reverence for the Divine Being. Our Courts of Justice, we are glad to say, are like those of Canada, pure and unsullied, and no suspicion of favouritism or party feeling is ever launched against any Judge, no matter where he sits. Our people look to their representatives to have a high standard of personal character, and our aim of legislation generally has been liberal, progressive, humanitarian. We are trying to keep the purity of the race and the general well-being of the people as a whole constantly before us. We are not looking to have our people wealthy. Probably you would not find more than ten millionaires in all Australia. We want a happy and contented people, enjoying the pleasures of life, at the same time doing their duty to their families and the State—a high standard of civilization and of comfort. I do not say that we are better than others, but we are going in that direction. An American politician called at Stonewall Jackson's house and he saw Stonewall Jackson's bodyguard. He said to him: "Jack, do you think your master has gone to Heaven?" "Oh, yes, sir, I am sure, sir." "Well, why do you think so?" "Well, sir, his head was always sot that way." While we are not doing much, while we are

blundering along as the Anglo-Saxon does, our heads are "sot that way," and we are trying to reach the ideal which I have endeavoured so briefly to sketch out to you to-day.

The desirability of better acquaintance between Canada and Australia must be patent to everyone here. These great outlying regions, areas of the British Empire, must sooner or later become more and more a factor in Imperial affairs. I, myself, am an Imperialist, and we have a very strong Imperial spirit there. While we have a section who will cry out about the British Crown and all that, you have only to mention the old Flag and the Empire and the King to evoke in any meeting a cheer that will drown any opposition that might be raised. And while Canada and Australia and South Africa may each pursue her own development there is room to hold together and never forget the great old country in the northern sea which has done so much for us. We should all make for Anglo-Saxon unity. I trust we will rise to be worthy of the glorious traditions of our past; that our heritage will be prized by every one of us; and that we will seek to show in our public and private capacities that we value our loyalty, our race, our heritage, and the privileges that all of us enjoy.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

An address by the HON. R. A. PYNE, M.D., LL.D., Minister of Education for Ontario, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 2nd, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

I can assure you that I am delighted to have been so honoured as to have the opportunity of saying a few words here to-day on a branch of education that is attracting a great deal of attention all over the world—Industrial Education. You have all, I have no doubt, read the works of the celebrated Lord Lytton. When I read one of his works, "The Coming Race," I thought what a wonderful perception the author must have had when he wrote it, because it seemed to me that he was really prophetic; that he was predicting something that would take place after his time. In that book he describes a subtle substance, a fluid that is going to accomplish great results for the human family. If he were alive to-day he would see in the ways in which electricity is put to use a condition almost analogous to that which he describes in that book. Unless it was an inspiration, it certainly was very far-seeing. And then we have the celebrated De Quincy. He did not speak in that way, but rather from experience, and told all his fellow-men never to indulge in more than eighteen ounces of laudanum, because he did not think it was safe for anybody but himself. Educational matters of all kinds are largely dependent in every country on the changed conditions that are continually coming up.

Education is a subject that I have often said seems to have no finality, goes on *ad libitum*, for all time; constantly changing. And it is these constant changes that bring about the great struggle in every country to-day—the effort to get a system of education that is going to be the

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Minister of Education for Ontario.

best for that country. We find ourselves in every Province of this Dominion vying one with another in trying to do something on the line of educational progress, and the great difficulties and complexities that surround all these questions are present to nearly everyone. Every gentleman in this room has seen marvellous changes in his own short life brought about in our own city. We all remember the old horse cars, and the transformation by electricity brought away from the great cataract, Niagara Falls. These were all things in the air, and I had the experience once of hearing Mr. E. E. Sheppard, when he undertook to become chief magistrate of this city. He said that he hoped and believed he would live to see the day when electricity would be brought from Niagara Falls to run every wheel in this great city, and said he hoped to see the houses lighted and heated by electricity; and every enterprising newspaper of that day the next morning said Sheppard certainly was full of ideas, but some of them were most visionary and would never come about.

I do not know that I could point to anything in which the changes are more marked than in our own transportation problems in this Dominion and in this Province. The changed conditions I speak of are in relation to the greatest industry that we have up to the present time in this Dominion and Province; I refer to the great agricultural industry because it is the chief one; it is the real backbone, as it were, of this Dominion. Look at the changes there. Every gentleman here knows, or has some idea of, the old pioneer way of tilling the soil, and the rude implements of fifty years ago, or twenty-five years ago—yes, gentlemen, of ten or five years ago. What would anyone say to-day of an agriculturist who was undertaking to compete in any line of agriculture with his neighbour, using these old pioneer implements? He would be laughed at, and he could not compete. So it is in everything else. In this age of progress every industry is marching on, and I do trust that in this Province of Ontario the educational progress will be on a par with the great progress we see in the industrial life

of this country. Inspector Maxwell of New York, one of the great educationists of our time, said that the chief difficulty he found in that Empire State of New York was to do something in an educational way that would wake up the people. They were living in a state of lethargy, half-asleep. You have to do something terrible to wake the people up and make them realize the conditions that surround them.

We have not done a great deal in this Province, but I have had the satisfaction of seeing the rural parts of this Province very much awake and alive. You remember two years ago when we brought in that bill fixing a minimum salary. The farmer at once got his club out, and you remember how farmers were stirred all over this Province. I believe we are reaping the benefit of that policy to-day, because salaries have increased, and there is some tendency to make the teaching profession permanent, and not a stepping-stone as it was in the past. Inspector Maxwell was quite right in that if you once get the people awake and alive they are prepared to help themselves in the great progress that everyone looks forward to. You may have the finest buildings, the finest equipment, but if you have not got a first-class teacher in your school or in your establishment, it all goes for nothing. The teacher is the important lever in education; in fact, it is around him that the whole matter centres, and, if you have not got a thoroughly trained and up-to-date teacher, nothing in the way of buildings or equipment can compensate for that.

I might say a word or two here on the industrial line regarding agriculture and what we are doing with a view of attracting the youth of this Province to that great pursuit. A short time ago we started out by establishing in eleven High Schools throughout the Province an agricultural department, manned by a graduate of the Agricultural College of Guelph, and of literary and scientific training as well, and we look forward to the time when in every county of this Province we will have an agricultural department attached

to some High School where it will become, as it were, a centre. These teachers, as well as attending to their class work, are expected to give lectures here and there through the county, of interest to the farmers, and to bring subjects before them in a scientific way that will give them ideas—improved ideas—and I think, in the end, add very much to their income and the production of the Province.

When I was away last year I took the opportunity of spending my holiday in some of the technical schools of the Old Country, of Glasgow, Scotland; of Belfast, Ireland; as well as schools in England. I was very much struck, too, by the condition of agriculture in France. It was really wonderful. For many years in France they have had attached to their rural schools what they call a garden plot, where elementary agriculture, botany, and I suppose agricultural chemistry, are taught, and they see the practical demonstration of it; and I am told that as a result of these schools, the products of the field and garden in France have almost trebled in the last ten years, and the French people themselves hardly realize the reason why their agricultural products have so increased; it is no doubt due to that system. I am told that there are in France over 20,000 of these school-garden plots, and I regret to say, in this great agricultural Province of Ontario, up to the present time, we have only about a dozen school-garden plots in the whole Province. There is certainly a great opportunity here to advance that important industry of agriculture.

Of course, as I said, when you go about, and see the practical workings of technical education in other countries, you are very much struck by the amount of money that is involved and being expended, and I may say here that everyone knows, and must admit, that if you improve any condition in life, you have to do it by an increased expenditure. I do not see any other way. We may reach a great many artisans and mechanics through our travelling libraries or through the libraries of this Province by seeing that there is a class of litera-

ture that will help these people in any direction or line of industry in which they may be engaged. You can do a great deal in that way, but if we are to have great technical colleges and technical schools such as we see in Glasgow and Belfast, we must spend the money. In Belfast I saw the linen industry treated from beginning to end in a practical, scientific way; from the growing of the flax to the manufacture of the article; bleaching, dyeing, printing—all this sort of thing done in one establishment. In Manchester I saw the great cotton industry treated in the same way with the exception of the growing of the cotton, which, of course, has to be imported. Every feature of the process of manufacture is put within the reach of the mechanic or the artisan interested in it, so that he can improve himself. These were wonderful establishments —the one in Belfast costing, I think, half a million (one hundred thousand) pounds and a large sum, too, for maintenance. In London I saw some establishments that were perfectly marvellous to me, and revelations. In industrial lines I saw children thirteen years of age able to make almost complete boots and shoes. It was really wonderful, and those children are getting a training which is going to be of great advantage to themselves and the country they live in.

It is important when we consider the great cost of technical education, and knowing the resources of our own Province and the other Provinces, that for technical education we ought to look to the Federal authorities for financial aid and help. I believe that is the correct thing, for the simple reason that the Federal authorities, the Federal Government, the Federal Parliament, are the people that build around the country the great tariff wall, and they make you and me pay a duty on every yard of cloth that we use, and on nearly every article of wearing apparel. I am a protectionist to the hilt, but I say it behooves the people that put up that tariff wall to take some of that indirect taxation and give it back to the people in technical education, so that behind that wall they may have the artisan and

the mechanic capable and trained and able to work up the raw product which Providence has given each Province. In making a statement of this kind in Brantford during the campaign, a gentleman said, "That is impossible," and he threw the British North America Act at me, that all things educational come under Provincial control, and that the Federal Parliament had nothing whatever to do with education, and I said to him: "I don't want them to have anything to do with education, because the educational side of it should be worked out by the Provincial authorities who know the conditions, who know the natural products and the environment of their own Province. Let them work out the great scheme of technical education, so that as in Belfast and Manchester, where cotton and linens and iron receive direct and specific attention, so in this Province, or Quebec, or any other, the industry which might be called an indigenous industry, will be the one that will receive particular attention from the Dominion's financial aid to Provincial systems of technical instruction."

There is another matter that struck me, and which I think could be done in this Province with a view to aiding the great mass of young people. Take the boys and girls who leave the public schools at fourteen years of age owing to the compulsory school law and Truancy Act, and who go to the shop or factory to earn their living. Their school days are over then at the age of fourteen, and I think that the State should make some provision to place within their reach the advantage of free public school education carried farther than the end of their course at fourteen years of age; and I think we could establish what might be called a continuation evening school, because you see these young people, the great masses of them in factories, leave their places of business at a time of the day when the door of the public school has swung shut and there is nothing more they can get in the way of free public school instruction. So I think these continuation evening schools might be established, at any rate in every city and in

every accumulation of people, for these young people; and let me tell you I am sure as I live that the boy at fourteen and fifteen begins to realize that he was not particular enough in the days that he spent in the public school, and would like to have some school to go to in the evening where he could improve himself along industrial lines. I believe such schools would be popular, and meet something that is very much needed where that side, the cultural side of life, could be continued, fitting them much better for the industries of life.

It is said that in Germany they have these continuation schools. I am also told that they have them in Japan. These countries, we all know, have made wonderful strides and have come very near, at any rate, to industrial supremacy amongst the nations of the world, and I believe it is due to this increased facility for education that they bring before their people. There is another matter about which I might say a word or two, and that is the position we are in to-day in industrial life regarding that most important thing that really took the place of education some years ago—that is apprenticeship. There is no apprenticeship to-day. It is impossible, owing to the changed conditions of industrial life. There is no chance for a boy, as in the years gone by, to become an apprentice and learn his trade. What happens now in the great industrial establishment? When he goes in the foreman takes hold of him and says: "Here's a machine I want you to learn." The boy gets familiar with that, and that is about all he gets, if he is there twenty years. He becomes expert and understands the machine and is able to work it in such a way that it is more productive, and there he is kept.

With the apprenticeship of long ago the boy was put alongside a journeyman, and the journeyman taught him all he knew, and another taught him all he knew, until he knew every side and every branch in the whole process of the industry connected with the factory he was in. That has all passed away. The boy has not a chance now, although I am told that in the Baldwin

Locomotive Works they have a foreman of apprentices, whose business it is to watch every boy in the whole establishment, and see to it that he is transferred from this machine to that, and that he goes from one department to another department until he gets an opportunity to understand the whole trade from end to end. Now great changes are about to take place, and the corporations that control some of these industries are beginning to look ahead, because they find great difficulty when some old employee passes away. Who are they going to get, with his peculiar knowledge in that factory, having gone from the bottom to the top, to take his place? I am told there are instances in this city, in some of the large industrial concerns, where the whole thing depends and the whole responsibility rests on the shoulders of two or three men who have been trained in a particular branch. We have not a foreman in any branch of the Soo industries who is a Canadian. These places of responsibility and skill and technical knowledge are nearly all filled by foreigners imported into our country. It is very hard on our own people that they do not get an opportunity to learn industrial occupations.

I do not know, Mr. President, that I ought to detain you longer with this mixed-up haphazard address I am making, more than to say that we all, I think, look forward to this Province of Ontario being a great industrial, as well as agricultural Province. In this whole Confederation a kind Providence, by putting waterfalls and streams all over it, has made it admirably suited for that purpose, and that being the case, I think it behooves us that have the responsibility of education on our minds and on our hands, to ask the people of this Province to join in every way in strengthening the hands of the authorities in our technical schools and on our school boards, to try and carry out something in the interests of the masses of our people. I hope to see this the great industrial hub of this whole Dominion, and that this Province will largely do the manufacturing for the great West and North-west, that now are coming into such prominence.

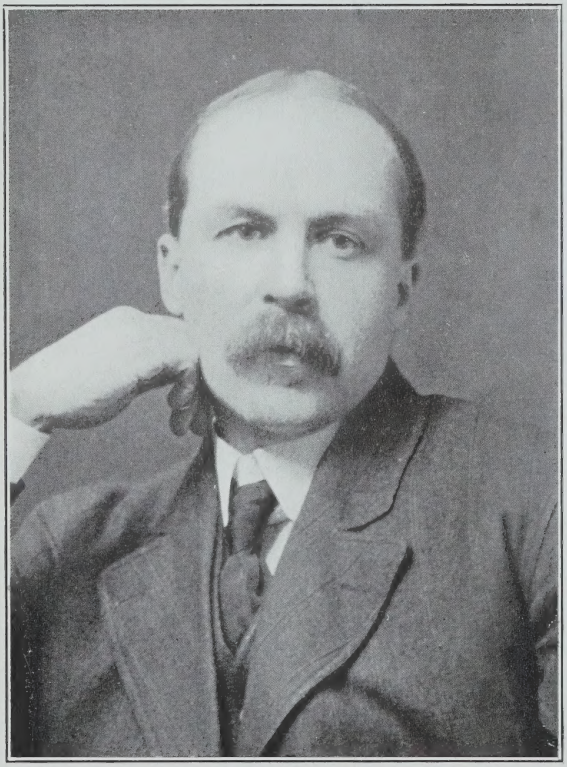
SOME CONSIDERATIONS OF RAILWAY REGULATION.

An address by MR. S. J. MCLEAN, PH.D., member of Dominion Railway Commission, Ottawa, before the Empire Club of Canada, on April 29th, 1909.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—

It gives me much pleasure to be present at your meeting to-day. I have known of the work of the Empire Club for a considerable time. While I have never had the privilege of attending any of its sessions before I know the value of its work. Last fall, when my friend Dr. Goggin cornered me and asked me to address you, to inflict some remarks upon you I should say, I thought possibly I might acquire merit *in absentia.* My life is rather a moving one, and I thought possibly the intention might be taken for the deed. However, on account of the accuracy of your telephonic connection, when I arrived in town Dr. Goggin was on my trail, and I am here. I have chosen the topic "Some Considerations of Railway Regulation" for the reason that when I have exhausted my time, and possibly my audience, I shall not at least have exhausted the subject.

The subject of transportation, to my mind, is the most important single economic question in Canada to-day. It is not necessary to go into any details of amplification. You are all confronted by the fact, in your various vocations and interests, that Canada has been re-made by its transportation facilities. No country in the world has, in proportion to population, contributed more generously to the development of transportation systems by rail and water than Canada, and it is significant that at a very early date in the history of Canada the idea of a systematic policy in regard to attracting traffic from the adjacent republic was entered into. I remember some years ago coming across a letter writ-



MR. S. J. MCLEAN, PH.D.

Member of Dominion Railway Commission, Ottawa.

ten in 1821 by Col. By, drawing attention to the fact that by the proper development of the St. Lawrence route, traffic from the States adjacent to the Great Lakes might be drawn down that route for export by way of our own seaports. It is significant that even at that time the idea of a consecutive policy was present in the minds of Canadians. We have had to wait quite a while for the proper development of our route in that respect.

As regards the work of railway development: in an old country a railway is simply an accessory to the existing trade. In a new country a railway is a colonizing factor. The railway has gone ahead of population, pulled population after it. It was my fortune in 1901, in connection with some work which I had the honour of doing for the Government, to traverse a great part of the Canadian North-west. Recently I was back through that section, and it was a source of surprise and pleasure to see the development of the country, to find in sections where formerly there was hardly any population, in sections with no population in fact, now thriving towns. One section which was then unsettled has now a railway traversing it—a railway which is known as the road of a hundred wheat stations.

The importance of railway development is recognized in every change of industrial life. Railway development has been aided by the development of our corporation system. We all know that the corporate system of management has great advantages from the financial standpoint. By the accretion of small sums of capital, works that could not otherwise be conducted have been carried out. We can take that for granted, but in connection with the problem of corporation organization there comes up the further question of the relations of corporate management to the public. We recognize certain distinctions between ordinary mercantile corporations and corporations that are affected by public use; and there has developed in different countries a body of law dealing with corporations which are affected by public use. So I wish to draw attention to some consid-

erations bearing upon the question of public policy in regard to railway corporations, confining what I have to say, for the most part, to Canadian conditions.

In the development of a railway regulative policy we have, as in many other things, to go to Great Britain. In the world to-day we have two general systems of policy in regard to railway control. We have in Great Britain, Canada and the United States adopted the policy of private ownership plus government control. Broadly speaking, in the rest of the world a system of government ownership and management prevails. I am not concerned with the discussion of the merits of either system. I am simply accepting the fact. In England, as early as 1854, it was recognized that difficulties arose in connection with the question of the relation of railways to the public. At first in the earlier Acts it was thought that the competitive conditions which governed ordinary trade would govern railways as well. The idea (I am probably carrying coals to Newcastle in mentioning it) was that the railway bed would be free to all in the same way as a canal was free to different carriers, and that the railway bed might be used by the rolling stock of an individual in return for payment or tolls, and that by competition on that roadbed rates would be regulated. In 1844 it was recognized that difficulties were in the way—the necessity of unified management and the impossibility of separate control. There also came up preferences and discrimination between shippers, so in the Act of 1854 the undue preference was legislated against. It was found in the development of railway regulation in England that the enforcement of the undue preference clauses of that Act through the courts, as was the earlier intention, had some defects. It was found also that there were difficulties in the way of regulating railways directly by Parliament; that is to say, by passing general statutes, because these general statutes did not allow sufficient discretion to deal with the individual conditions. And so we find in 1873, and later in 1888, the organization of the Railway and Canal Commission in Great Britain.

The legislation which was incorporated in the Acts of 1873 and 1888 has had a great effect upon the development of regulative policy in Canada and the United States.

In referring for a moment to the conditions of railway regulation in Great Britain and the United States the central facts in the regulative policy are those of rates and of the relation of the regulative body to the courts. The rate problem is fundamental in our modern industrial life. Variations in rates affect industrial profits, affect the direction of industrial enterprises. Variations in rates determine the flow of traffic, and determine what section or sections of the country shall be developed. We find, in connection with the rate policy of our railways in the North-west, that the expanding traffic and population of that country are being recognized in that rates are being made to cater to different outlets. Our difficulty in the North-west has been that, as Sir William Van Horne has said, "we have been enlarging the hopper without properly enlarging the spout."

Recently the Canadian Pacific, for example, has recognized the development of western traffic by giving a rate to move grain from Alberta to the Pacific coast, what has been called the ABC route (Alberta and British Columbia). And I was informed recently that between December 1st and the latter part of February two million bushels of wheat had moved from Alberta to British Columbia. That wheat will go to Europe and be shipped to British points. That particular example will be, I take it, sufficiently pertinent to attract attention to the fundamental part that the rate plays in connection with the development of industry. The rate problem, then, is something fundamental to every large business enterprise; and every shipper, and every producer, is concerned in the question of rates; not only the question of whether there is a discrimination, whether one man obtains a preference at the expense of another, but there is also the question of the level of the rates.

In England the general policy has been to deal with the question of undue preference or discrimination, giving the regulative body no control over individual rates in this; that is to say, the regulative body is concerned with relative unreasonableness, not with the question of the reasonableness of the rate *per se*. The old policy was to place certain maximum rates in the charters of railways, and there are decisions on record that any rate which is within the maximum fixed by the statute is *per se* a reasonable rate. In the legislation of 1888, which amended and expanded the regulative legislation of 1873, no power over an individual rate was given to the Railway Commission except in the question of through rates. In 1894 legislation was passed empowering the Commission to investigate the reasonableness of the rates increased since 1892. That has been construed by the English Railway and Canal Commission in a narrow way.

In the United States, as the result of a long period of agitation, an Act was passed in 1887 directed especially against discriminations. There are also prohibitions in regard to unreasonable rates. The American Commission for a time claimed the right to exercise jurisdiction in regard to the reasonableness of particular rates, and direct reductions of them; but later by court decisions it was held that the Commission did not possess any power to reduce individual rates for the future. That was subsequently amended by legislation of 1906, under which the Commission has regulative power over individual rates for the future. In both countries there comes up the question of the relation of the regulative body (the Commission) to the courts. In England the decision of the Railway and Canal Commission is final as to the question of fact, and there may be one appeal on a question of law. In general, where there has been an appeal from the Commission, it has been decided in a comparatively short time by the courts, generally within a period of six months.

In the United States, on account of the division of powers under the constitution, the Interstate Commerce

Commission is not a court. It has no final power. Before the amendment of 1906 many delays took place in connection with the enforcement of the various orders of the Commission. A case might be heard before the Commission and the railway might be unwilling to be bound by its decision, and the whole question might run the gamut of the courts up to the Supreme Court. In one case eleven years elapsed between the order given by the Commission and the decision of the Supreme Court, and all the Supreme Court decided was that the Commission was not justified in its finding on the facts. Under such circumstances as those the petitioner might be dead before a decision was reached. In dealing with the question of regulation in Canada we had to recognize the experiences of other countries—of Great Britain and the United States. I may refer, then, to the jurisdiction of the Commission in Canada, and briefly state what we have been attempting to accomplish.

Under the organization of our Commission, which, since the amendment of last year, now consists of six members, the power of the Commission is final on a question of fact. On any question which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, is a question of law, the finding of the Chief Commissioner is final. There may be an appeal on a question of law or of jurisdiction to the Supreme Court. Then, again, there may be an appeal from the Commission to the Governor-in-Council. Or the Governor-in-Council may of his own motion overrule the order of the Commission and direct what action shall be taken, and the action so directed to be taken shall be the order of the Commission.

The reason for the latter provision is the desire to maintain the principle of responsible government. In the earlier days of railway legislation in Canada the right to exercise general regulative powers was reserved to the Parliament of Canada; for example, the power contained in the Railway Act prior to 1888, giving Parliament the right to reduce rates, but not so as to produce less than 15 per cent. of a dividend on the investment. As a result of the investigation of the

Royal Commission, 1886 to 1888, the Act was amended and that particular provision I referred to struck out of the Act, and a varied jurisdiction in regard to matters of rate discriminations, safety appliances, etc., was conferred on the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, which was responsible to Parliament. Under the amending Act of 1903, the powers hitherto possessed by the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, plus certain additional wider powers, were conferred upon a Commission. By giving the Governor-in-Council a control over the Commission the principle of ministerial responsibility is maintained.

As to the power over rates the Commission has power to declare a rate unreasonable. It has power to declare what shall be a reasonable rate. It has a thorough-going power over rates which is not possessed either by the English Commission or by the United States Commission; because, as I indicated in the case of the English Commission, there is only a limited jurisdiction over individual rates which have been increased subsequent to 1892. In the United States the jurisdiction is limited by the court control. In the case of Canada the decision of the Commission is final on a question of facts; that is to say, the rate regulation is a matter of fact. Of course, if there is some material point of law involved, then there comes the question of the matter going to the Supreme Court, as in the matter of commutation rates, which involves the question as to whether certain powers conferred upon the railways by section 341 of the Railway Act were controlled by section 77 of the Act dealing with discrimination. Some very important legal points are involved, with the result that such cases will go before the Supreme Court. We have a control over the rates which exceeds that possessed by any other railway regulative commission in the world.

As regards discriminations we have powers there, wide powers, similar to those I referred to as existing in the English Acts. We have also control over the question of classification, which, as you will know, is

fundamental in rate-making, because a change in a class means a change in the rate, and the power to regulate rates without power to regulate classification would be giving with the right hand to take away with the left. Our jurisdiction is not limited to questions of rates alone. We have a very diversified jurisdiction in other respects. It occurred to me that it might be of interest to you to have brought before you a brief summary of what we have had before us in this city.

In three days' sittings here we have had some thirty-seven cases, and in these cases some thirty-seven different points have been involved. It is just by accident, however, that you find this identity of number. We had to consider such questions as culverts, highway crossings, drainage under tracks, railway sidings, dangerous level crossings, inter-railway relations where one railway crosses another, the question of the cost of protection—as of installing inter-locking devices, de-rails—land damages, applications by independent telephone companies to have telephones installed in certain railway stations, delay in shipments, and last but not least, one in regard to the viaduct. That may be taken as a fairly comprehensive summary of the kind of work that comes before us. We have jurisdiction regarding rates, regarding highway crossings, inter-railway relations, safety appliances, speed of trains, telephone rates, telegraph rates, express rates, sleeping-car rates, and other powers which would be too tedious to enumerate.

The Commission may not be composed of philosophers; we certainly are peripatetics. In my own experience, since early in January I have travelled not far from 9,000 miles. We are all in the same box. It was recognized in the Royal Commission of 1886-88 that one defect in the existing policy of railway regulation was that all those who had complaints to bring up had to have them dealt with at Ottawa before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council. It is true that recommendation was made that some subordinate officials might be appointed on behalf of the Privy Council to go out and take testimony, and on the basis of this

testimony the matters might be dealt with in Ottawa. This recommendation was not carried out. We, however, move from place to place. For example, when we were in Edmonton early this year a farmer came before us having a complaint that he had fenced off a certain portion of the right-of-way of a highway, by consent of his neighbours, and he complained that the wires had been cut by engineers of a railway company, and as a result some of his cattle were killed on the tracks. We have no jurisdiction with regard to questions of damages. I refer to this case to show that the farmer came before us in Edmonton and explained his case, and I wish to say that in a small matter like that in the older days he would have to present his case in person or by counsel before the Railway Committee of the Privy Council—a matter of considerable expense.

Take the question of highway crossings. Our peripatetic organization enables us to pick out some centre and to hear various cases about highway crossings, disputes about protection, etc. We give our earnest attention to the matter of crossings, and our decentralized organization enables us to get closer to the seat of complaint. In the latter part of January I had the privilege to travel with the Chief Commissioner on a six weeks' trip through to Victoria. In the six weeks we handled three hundred and thirty applications. Our record was at Medicine Hat—four cases in forty-five minutes. In going through on that trip we had the opportunity to meet the individuals who had complaints, representatives from different farmers' associations, shippers' associations, some cases represented by lawyers, some cases represented in person. In the last year, ending March 31st, 1909, the Board has handled about eleven hundred formal applications. I have not in mind just how many informal applications, but the number would be about three of the latter to one formal application.

The attempt in connection with the Commission work is to arrive at substantial justice. That is all human justice can be between the parties, and to do this as promptly as possible. Some cases which come before us

are not very complicated—a matter, it may be, regarding the planking at a highway, a question of fact. Others are more complicated and require a longer period of deliberation, special reports from officers, etc.; but we attempt to get at results as quickly as possible, always keeping in mind substantial justice to the parties as representing the general public, because we recognize that in a question, say, affecting rates, delay defeats the remedy. I have referred in passing to the eleven-year period which elapsed in one case in the United States, but that is an extreme case. But on an average the cases appealed from the Interstate Commerce Commission, and which go to the Supreme Court, prior to 1906 took about four years to settle. The remedy was defeated by the length of time required in the process.

Rapidity of settlement is not the only thing. Rapidity plus injustice is the worst thing; but if you can get at the facts and get a relatively speedy solution, conditions are better, and I have often found that people are more interested in a speedy solution than in getting every point settled in their favour. We recognize that we have complicated matters brought before us, and we give as careful consideration as is possible for fallible human beings to all the facts brought before us. We have had only a limited experience. The life of the Commission began in 1904. We have been gradually developing precedents in regard to certain lines of regulative policy. We know that we have made our mistakes, in which we are in harmony with the rest of humanity, but we are attempting to give careful, serious attention to the general interests of the public—not the public construed in a narrow sense, because we have to recognize that anything which is unfair to a transportation company is, in the long run, detrimental to the interests of the public. If we should take up a policy which meant that a railway company was to be deprived of the legitimate return upon its investment, in the long run, by retarding investment, it would react upon the development of the country. Some years ago, in a report which I made to the Government of Canada, I made the statement, which I

take the liberty of quoting, that "any regulative policy which results in depriving a transportation company of a legitimate return upon the investment is as detrimental to the public as any policy which endeavoured to obtain high rates upon an improperly inflated capitalization through arbitrary discriminations and other measures."

In the development of the work of the Board Canada has been fortunate in that the Commission has possessed strong chairmen. The late Mr. Blair, with whom it was my privilege to be associated in various special investigations was a man who brought to the work of the Board a wealth of administrative ability. You all know the legal ability, the judicial acumen of the late Mr. Commissioner Killam. In regard to the present chairman, it would be a matter of bad taste for me to attempt to pass any opinion upon one of my colleagues. You are in a better position than I am to estimate his work, but I am permitted to say—it is within the bounds of good taste—that no man could work for a pleasanter colleague or work with a more considerate man, and a man with broader ideas of the proper application of work in connection with the detail matters that come before us.

I would say, again, that we are even yet in a formative period. We started with a wide jurisdiction. The jurisdiction has been made wider. Possibly some awkward questions may be referred to us; we must struggle with them. You will remember that we are attempting to work out, as I have said, substantial justice. We may fail sometimes, but we are trying to hold the balance as even as we can, recognizing that the proper development of a regulative policy in regard to railways is a measure which is in the truest interests of Canada.

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